The CHRISTIAN CENTURY

A Journal of Religion

The Catholic Church and Child Labor

An Editorial

The Menace of the New Paganism

By Arnold J. Toynbee

Quezon Needs Gold for Guns

By Harold E. Fey

Crucifixion By Request

By Marcus Bach

The Great Debate

An Editorial

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In This Issue

ARNOLD J. TOYNBEE

contributes the second in the series of articles written in anticipation of the coming Oxford ecumenical conference. Professor Toynbee is director of studies at the Royal Institute of International Affairs and professor of international history at the University of London. He is probably the foremost authority on the Near and Middle East, and his books are too familiar to historians to require any recapitulation of their titles. Next week the series will be carried forward by Professor T. E. Jessop, who holds the chair of philosophy in the University College of Hull.

MARCUS BACH

is known to readers of The Christian Century as a gifted writer of sketches dealing with remarkable religious communities. "Within These Walls," a play by Mr. Bach, was recently produced by the Federal Theater in Chicago. It was based on the sketch of life in a Trappist monastery, "Behind Trappist Walls," which appeared in The Christian Century for June 12, 1935. Mr. Bach is a member of the faculty of the University of Iowa.

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The CHRISTIAN CENTURY

March 10, 1937

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Calendar of Coming Events

Feb. 23-March 16. Massachusetts Federation of Women's Church Societies, Boston, Mass.
Mar. 8-12. Annual Baptist Pastors' Conferences, Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, Louisville, Ky.
Mar. 9-11. Conference of Southern Mountain Workers, Knoxville, Tenn.
Mar. 11, 12. Southern California Baptist School of Leadership and Service, Foothill Association.
Mar. 14. Ford Hall Forum, Boston; Langston Hughes, speaker.
Mar. 14. Northern Baptist Youth Conference, University of Redlands, Redlands, Cal.
Mar. 14. Chicago Sunday Evening Club; Dr. Tertius Van Dyke, speaker.
Mar. 21. Ford Hall Forum, Boston; Count Raoul de Sales and Dr. Helgo W. Culemann, speakers.
Mar. 28. Ford Hall Forum, Boston; Señor Salvador de Madariaga, speaker.
Mar. 31. Wilmington Conference, Methodist, Episcopal Church, Salisbury, Md.
Mar. 31. Delaware Conference, Methodist Episcopal Church, Atlantic City, N. J.
Apr. 1. Troy Conference, Methodist, St. Louis, Bethel Church.
Apr. 4. Ford Hall Forum, Boston; Dr. John Haynes Holmes, speaker.
Apr. 5-12—Annual town and country pastors' short course, College of Agriculture, University of Kentucky, Lexington.
Apr. 7. Newark Conference, Methodist Episcopal Church, Newark, N. J.
Apr. 7. Washington Conference, Methodist Episcopal Church, Richmond, Va.
Apr. 7. East German Conference, Methodist Episcopal Church, New York City.
Apr. 8. Institute of Human Relations, Palmer House, Chicago.
Apr. 11. Ford Hall Forum, Boston; Prof. Harold J. Laski, speaker.
Apr. 14. North Indiana Conference, Methodist Episcopal Church, Anderson, Ind.
Apr. 14. Central Pennsylvania Conference, Methodist Episcopal Church, Altoona, Pa.
Apr. 14. Central West Conference, Methodist Episcopal Church, Kansas City, Kan.
Apr. 14. New York East Conference, Methodist Episcopal Church, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Apr. 14. St. Johns River Conference, Methodist Episcopal Church, St. Petersburg, Fla.
Apr. 14. Wyoming Conference, Methodist Episcopal Church, Binghamton, Wyo.
Apr. 15. Eastern Swedish Conference, Methodist Episcopal Church, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Apr. 15-17. State Young People's Conference, Mankato, Minn.
Apr. 18. Ford Hall Forum, Boston; Dr. Alexander Meiklejohn, speaker.
Apr. 18-21. Preaching Mission, Minneapolis and St. Paul, Minn.
Apr. 21. Lexington Conference, Methodist Episcopal Church, Lexington, Ky.
Apr. 27-29. Christian Retreat for Ministers, Winter Haven, Fla.
Apr. 26, 27. State Convention of the Pennsylvania Council of Churches, Harrisburg, Pa.
Apr. 26-28. United Christian Advance, Council of Churches, Kansas City, Mo.
Apr. 26-29. State Congregational Conference, Lawrence, Kan.
Apr. 28. New Hampshire Conference, Methodist Episcopal Church, Haverhill, N. H.
Apr. 29. Northern New York Conference, Methodist Episcopal Church, Malone, N. Y.

The CHRISTIAN CENTURY

An Undenominational Journal of Religion

VOLUME LIV CHICAGO, MARCH 10, 1937 NUMBER 10

EDITORIAL

BOTH HOUSES of Congress now have neutrality bills before them. In last week's issue the provisions of the Pittman bill, pending before the Senate, were outlined. This week the House of Representatives will open debate on the McReynolds bill, named after the chairman of its committee on foreign affairs. It is taken for granted that both bills will pass, and that then some compromise measure must be written in conference. Compromise, if it comes, must deal with the conditions on which materials other than primary munitions are sold to belligerents and American citizens are permitted to travel in time of war. These are the only important points on which the two measures differ. The Pittman bill would impose a mandatory "cash-and-carry" policy on all sales to belligerents from the moment the President proclaims the existence of a state of war. The McReynolds bill would impose such restrictions only after the President had declared sales to be dangerous to America's peace; it would also leave the President a free hand to make such exceptions to regulations covering sales of commodities to belligerents as he might deem wise. The Pittman bill would keep American citizens off the ships of belligerents. The McReynolds bill would keep them off only if the President so ordered. Public opinion, and sentiment in Congress, we trust will solidify behind the principles of the Pittman bill.

House Neutrality Bill Reported

America and Germany's Colonial Demands

FEW Americans would have dreamed that Germany's strident demands for colonies could involve the United States. But current reports from London require serious attention in this country. According to these reports, which are accepted as accurate by the most responsible portion of the British press, Herr von Ribbentrop is now engaged in preliminary negotiations with Lord Halifax covering colonial questions. The Germans, it is said, have made no formal demands, but Ambassador von Ribbentrop is supposed to have asked the British to see to it that Hitler is ceded a strip of West Africa running from the French Congo up to Portuguese Guinea. Americans will note that this proposed new German colonial empire would include Liberia. Now the United States has no particular reason for pride over its past treatment of Liberia. Neither is it likely that any considerable amount of sentiment could be whipped up in this country over the responsibility of Uncle Sam to protect the large rubber plantation investments which Mr. Firestone has recently made in the Negro republic. Nevertheless, it would be quite impossible for the nazis to gobble Liberia—whatever the European nations might think about it—without producing considerable ruction on this side of the Atlantic. How much value the nazis put on America's good will it would be hard to say. In the light of the available evidence, one would judge not much. But if they value our good will at all, they will be well advised to drop this Liberian scheme.

A Quaker Colony for Stranded Miners

FOR YEARS Americans have been hearing of the magnificent work the Quakers have been doing in relieving the victims of the post-war dislocation in all parts of Europe. Starving children on the Volga during Russia's great famine; hopeless tenement dwellers in ruined Austria; stranded miners in the Rhondda valley in Wales—these and numberless similar enterprises have made the name of the Quakers honored as pioneers in a new type of international philanthropy. But Americans have always thought of this, too complacently, as something that the Quakers have been doing for the luckless somewhere else. It will bring a shock to such Americans to be informed that the Quakers have now discovered that the same sort of help must be given people in the United States. There are stranded people here, also, who are in desperate need of help. This week the first such Quaker project in the United States is being opened on a two hundred acre tract in Fayette county, Pennsylvania, where the families of fifty coal miners will be transplanted into a subsistence community. Enough to sustain life will be brought within reach of these families while the fath-

ers learn new trades. For the Quakers, after careful investigation, report that at least two hundred thousand soft coal miners in the United States are hopelessly stranded. They not only have no jobs now; they never will be employed again in coal mines. And coal mining is all they know how to do! So the Quakers are beginning in this way to tackle the problem of the stranded Americans who are coal miners. After they have made an impression on that, they expect to move on to other stranded portions of our population. This is practical religion which deserves, and will be given, the highest honor. But it has a grim social picture as its background.

German Church Faces A Futile Election

NIEMOELLER, the German submarine commander who became the staunchest defender of the liberties of the German church, is a brave man. From two pulpits in Berlin, on Sunday, February 28, he read announcement of the violent death of Dr. Weisler, secretary of the brotherhood council of the confessional church. Weisler's body was found in his cell in a concentration camp. "According to the report of the secret police," said Niemoeller, "he hanged himself with his towel. Whatever may be the circumstances, Dr. Weisler has departed this life while in the service of the church. He was placed in custody last summer. He was accused of giving the foreign press the text of a statement by the brotherhood council. So far as we know, no proof has been presented substantiating this charge." So goes *mein Kampf* against the church. "Hanged himself with his towel." Perhaps. The German church elections ordered by Hitler have been set for April 11. A new governing synod is to be elected by vote of the members of the church. But who are members of the church? In a state church many are technically members merely because they have not formally renounced their membership. That such an election, even if conducted freely and fairly, would represent the mind of the actual church, is most improbable. But no discussion of the issues of the election is permitted at church services or in the religious press. No discussion or criticism of the decree is permitted anywhere. Such an election amounts to little, whatever the outcome may be. Niemoeller's most important note was his statement that German Protestantism must prepare to sever its connection with the state and depend for its support on voluntary offerings. It certainly must do that. It should have done it long ago. Even that may not save it now.

Ireland Finds Coronation Too Protestant

THE Irish Free State, alone among the nations which make up the British Commonwealth, will take no part in the coronation of King George VI. So President de Valera has announced to the Dail. The aloofness of Ireland is explained as partly a protest against the partition of the island—the freedom-loving Catholics of south Ireland being still indignant because the Protestants of Ulster were not forced to cast in their lot against their will with the Free State—and partly a refusal to participate in a ceremony which "implies discrimination against the religion to which the majority of our people belong." So here is another embarrassment arising from the fact that the coronation is a Protestant Episcopal ceremony for the induction of an emperor-king over a domain whose population is not wholly Protestant and whose Protestants are not wholly episcopalian. The English nonconformists were eased out of the picture as soon as it was suggested that they might properly have a place in it. And the Irish, who were naturally expected to have a part, refuse to participate because they are Roman Catholics. In ordinary times Great Britain, with her admirable genius for "muddling through" inconsistent and illogical situations, gets by very nicely in spite of the absurdity implicit in the existence of a state church which is the church of only a fraction of the people. All parties concerned have developed habits and attitudes, rules of etiquette and propriety, which prevent undue embarrassment, just as Vatican and government circles in Rome used to get along peacefully enough while the king was still under excommunication and the pope was a "prisoner." But when some great ceremonial occasion arises, the problem is revealed. Perhaps this is one thing that great ceremonial occasions are good for. For example, when the king, after the coronation, hands his jeweled sword to the Archbishop of Canterbury "as a symbol that he places his sword at the service of the church"—just what does he mean by that?

England Is Agitated About Sensational Journalism

YELLOW journalism is troubling Great Britain. Members of Parliament have been organizing what the dispatches call a campaign against sensationalism in the press, with hints of possible establishment of a censorship if reporters and editors will not practice self-restraint. The Newspaper Proprietors Association responds with assurance of its desire to avoid "undue and improper intrusion into private griefs," but at the same time complains that the reasonable desire of the public and the press for information about public affairs is often frustrated by the hostile attitude of officials who refuse to give out legitimate information. Part of the uneasiness is ascribed to the unpleasant publicity recently given to the Duke of Kent in connection with an incident of no importance whatever, but basically it is doubtless due to the still jittery state of nerves caused by the unreasonable suppression and the sudden release of "the biggest story of 1936." Granting that sensational journalism is as detrimental to public taste and morals as all right-minded people think it is, the cure for its evils does not lie in the direction of censorship and suppression. The policy of taboo upon matters, even though trivial and personal, that the public is interested in does not make for good journalism or for a healthy state of the public mind. And sooner or later it always prepares the way for an ex-

plosion that does infinitely more damage than a steady current of news carrying a certain amount of froth on its surface. The Duke of Kent visits a phrenologist! Well, what of it? A lady goes with him! What of that? Probably most of the readers did not know what a phrenologist was, but a public with a healthy mind certainly would not have become excited about it. It is part of the duty of the press to educate the public to a reasonable tolerance for personal items which, to the naive, might seem sensational. After all, "names do make news."

Why Not Rehabilitate The Armor Plants?

DOUBTLESS Secretary Swanson and Secretary Roper were just bluffing when they told the steel companies last week that, if the companies did not change their tactics with respect to supplying armor-plate for the navy, the government would rehabilitate the steel plant at South Charleston, West Virginia, which it built during the war and never used. But why bluff? Why not do it? The steel companies have attempted to force the United States government to allow them to manufacture armor plate in defiance of the provisions of a law which, to most Americans, will seem eminently enlightened and just. This is the Walsh-Healy act, which requires firms doing government work worth more than ten thousand dollars to observe the forty-hour week, employ no child labor, and pay what the department of labor certifies are the prevailing wages for that industry and region. Until you lift the restrictions of that law, the steel companies tell Uncle Sam, you get no steel for your ships. Well, why knuckle under? It was brought out at the munitions inquiry that in 1931 the Carnegie Steel Company, on three typical orders of armor for the navy, made profits of 57, 43.4 and 42.7 per cent. Expert valuation engineers from the Interstate Commerce Commission, after exhaustive study of plants, testified that government yards and mills could be made ready to put through even a "naval race" building program for an expenditure of less than ten per cent of the amount allocated to the navy from relief funds in 1934. Despite higher rates of pay and generous vacation allowances, government shipyards have consistently proved their ability to build warships for less than private plants. Why does Uncle Sam merely bluff with the steel founders and shipbuilders? Why not make the whole business a government job?

Educators for Universal Draft Proposal

UNLESS long-range appearances have deceived us, the recent New Orleans convention of the department of superintendence of the National Education Association was stampeded into endorsing a proposal to which it had given little or no study. Other bodies do that sort of thing all the time, but the country has a right to expect a better example from the men and women who run the nation's schools. At New Orleans, if newspaper reports are dependable, a fiery speech from an Oklahoma senator was followed by introduction of a resolution by a representative of the "American Legion Schoolmasters Clubs," whatever they may be. The resolution endorsed a universal draft law, and the school superintendents passed it with a whoop, only four votes being cast in the negative. While the terms of the resolution were a trifle vague as to precisely what universal draft act the educators were endorsing, it is reasonable to conclude that it would be either the legion-backed Hill-Sheppard bill now before Congress, or the act drawn up by the war department and expounded before the Nye committee. The two differ only in details. How many of the educators had troubled to find out what the munitions hearings developed as to the actual operation of such a proposed law? How many of them had read even a brief outline of the proposals, such as Harold Fey's article, "Shall Conscription Come Again?" in the January 27 issue of The Christian Century? Yet even a slight acquaintance with the facts concerning legislation of this sort would have informed the educators that no way has as yet been found, within the Constitution, to conscript wealth or to end war profits, but that what these bills actually do is to conscript labor and bring into effect an industrial dictatorship which would subject any worker who might propose a strike to the tender mercies of a court-martial. In other words, unadulterated fascism.

Will the Sit-Down Strikes Bring Industrial War?

ALTHOUGH the negotiations between the General Motors Corporation and the United Automobile Workers seem to be moving smoothly toward a permanent peace in that section of the motor industry, other developments growing out of the wave of sit-down strikes are undeniably disquieting. Two such strikes have been broken up during the last few days, and in both cases the drift toward armed conflict has been noticeable. The eviction of more than three hundred strikers from the plant of the Douglas Aircraft Company at Santa Monica, California, was brought to pass by heavily armed deputies who threatened to loose machine guns on the men within the factory. The strikers at the Fansteel plant at North Chicago, Illinois, were dislodged after a gas attack reminiscent of the western front. From the standpoint of the total community, one advantage of the sit-down strike has been its lack of violence. With no strike-breakers, no pickets, no loafing by idlers in saloons, sit-down strikes so far have been marked for their comparative peacefulness. But if the state, in its attempt to deal with this new and baffling technique for carrying on industrial disputes, shows its readiness to shoot, bomb or gas the strikers out of their positions it can hardly be doubted that soon such strikers will arm themselves to withstand siege. The prospect is appalling. Meanwhile, a further action by the judge who issued the orders to evict the sit-down strikers from the Fansteel plant has hardly helped the situation. Having used the power of the

court to destroy this new method for conducting a strike, the judge thereupon issued an injunction limiting picketing—the old method—in such a way as to make it totally ineffective. Workers, striking only to gain recognition of the collective bargaining rights which the law is supposed already to have given them, are likely to interpret such action as evidence that, when the employer appeals to the courts, it is on a "heads I win, tails you lose" basis. As that conviction grows, so grows the prospect of trouble.

The Catholic Church and Child Labor

RATIFICATION of the child labor amendment to the federal Constitution now awaits the favorable action of only eight more states. The legislatures of twenty-eight states have ratified it, and four of these within the past two months. The most important front upon which the contest for ratification is now being waged is New York, and the strongest force that has been mobilized against ratification in New York is the hierarchy of the Roman Catholic Church.

The full force of this ecclesiastical opposition to the child labor amendment became clear at the hearings conducted by the judiciary committee of the New York assembly, after the ratification resolution had already been adopted by the senate. The daily press, ordinarily very cautious about giving publicity to any part that the hierarchy may take in political action, has been entirely frank about this. For example, the *New York Times,* after mentioning the strong support given to the measure by President Roosevelt and Governor Lehman, says: "On the other hand, as a chief factor in the opposition are leaders of the Catholic Church. At the hearing Bishop Edmund F. Gibbons of the Albany diocese bore a message from fellow bishops and Cardinal Hayes urging that the resolution be voted down."

Explaining the rather easy passage of the ratification measure by the senate the same paper says: "The resolution was put through in the senate by a surprise move at a time when the Catholic Church, with no warning in advance, had no opportunity to assert its unwavering objection." Commenting on the sudden shrinkage of support in the assembly: "Where the Democrats are concerned, the shift against ratification may be attributed wholly to the showing of opposition by the Roman Catholic Church made yesterday at the public hearing on the Kleinfeld resolution before the assembly judiciary committee. Every Roman Catholic bishop in the state, as well as Cardinal Hayes, was put on record as opposed to the child labor amendment. Experience has shown the influence exerted by the Catholic Church with Democrats, a large number of whom are of the faith."

This influence is not limited to those who are "of the faith." Governor Lehman is a Jew. Nevertheless, says the *Times,* "the governor is in a somewhat delicate position in dealing with an issue on which the Catholic Church has taken such a pronounced stand." The Democratic leader in the assembly is not a Catholic either, and he is for ratification, but he hesitates to bring caucus pressure to bear, "since for the rest of the legislative session he will be compelled to depend on the Democrats, of whom possibly a majority are Catholics, to see the legislative program through in the assembly."

In making these citations from an authority not open to the suspicion of sectarian prejudice and predisposed, for reasons of journalistic prudence, to play down the religious angle of any political question, our sole purpose is to make it clear that the influence of the Roman Catholic hierarchy is solidly aligned against the ratification of the child labor amendment; not to criticize the hierarchy for taking sides on a political question. Churches are always taking sides on questions that involve political action, and the Roman Catholic bishops have as good a right to oppose the child labor amendment as the Methodist Board of Temperance and Public Morals had to oppose the repeal of prohibition. That we happen to believe that the bishops have taken the wrong side does not affect our judgment as to their right to take the side that they think is right. That the Roman Catholic Church is numerically strong and that the influence of its hierarchy upon its lay members, including those who are also members of the legislature, is perhaps greater than that which any Protestant body could exercise over its lay members under similar conditions, may give anxious thought to those who oppose the policies it espouses, but it does not diminish their right to espouse them.

The only questions that can be profitably discussed in this connection are: Why is the Roman Catholic Church opposed to the child labor amendment, and how can it be persuaded that the amendment does not threaten its interests, if this is indeed true?

The proposed amendment empowers Congress to "limit, regulate and prohibit the labor of persons under eighteen years of age." Webster's *New International Dictionary* gives this as the first of its ten definitions of labor: "physical or mental toil; bodily or intellectual exertion, esp. when fatiguing, painful, irksome, or unavoidable; work." We are reminded that these terms describe not only work that is done in factories and fields for wages but also work that is done in school, in the household and in the barn-lot.

If Congress is empowered to regulate and prohibit all labor by persons under eighteen years of age, including study and "chores," then federal legislation might invade two fields in regard to which the Roman Catholic Church has definite convictions. (1) It might prohibit attendance at parochial schools, under guise of "limiting and regulating" intellectual exertion; and (2) it might encroach upon the authority of parents by prohibiting them from requiring the reasonable cooperation of their children in the performance of household tasks. The way would be opened for an "Oregon law" on a national scale; and there would always be the chance of a law under which Susie might appeal to a federal inspector when she is asked to wash the dishes, or Johnnie might successfully oppose an

order from his mother to bring in kindling or feed the chickens.

But the issue must not be belittled by trivial illustrations. These are real and important issues. Is it the function of government or of parents to decide what schools children shall attend and what work they shall do for the benefit of the family? It is pointed out that these fears might have been avoided if the proposed amendment limited congressional control to the *gainful* labor of children. And that is true. But that limitation would also have left children at the mercy of parents who overwork them, especially on farms, and deprive them of education for the sake of having an extra and unpaid "hand" in the household or in whatever industry the parents are conducting. Such cases are by no means few. In fact, the great bulk of child labor at the present time is not in factories but in agriculture, and it is not "gainful"—at least not for the children.

But however that may be, the amendment is as it is. As already adopted by twenty-eight states, it applies to whatever the courts may include under the term "labor." The amendment must be voted on as it is written, not as it might have been written. Would its adoption threaten either of the interests which the Roman Catholic bishops wish to protect by defeating it?

There is no reasonable ground for any such apprehension. It is difficult to see how anyone can seriously fear lest Congress will attempt to legislate students out of one school and into another on the pretense that this is "regulating labor," or that any court would uphold such an interpretation of the term. As a matter of fact, no court, from the lowest to the highest, ever has interpreted "labor" as including study in school or light domestic tasks in the home. If Congress and the courts were going to take the term as covering everything that all the dictionary definitions include, from physical and mental toil to the pangs of childbirth, it would be no great help to prefix the word "gainful," for the meaning of that is equally elastic. According to the same authority, gainful means "productive of gain, profitable, [and only in the third place] lucrative"; and gain means "increase or addition to what one has of that which is of profit, advantage or benefit." So if the student studies to any good effect, or if the girl at home acquires any beneficial training by helping her mother in the kitchen, both are engaged in "gainful labor"—if one cares to justify the use of the phrase solely by recourse to lexicography. But neither courts nor legislatures follow that method.

The proposed amendment confers upon Congress no powers that the legislatures of the several states do not already have. Many states have adopted measures to limit and regulate child labor, but none has ever made the slightest gesture toward stretching these laws to cover anything except what is commonly known as work. When it is said that a child has left school and gone to work, there is no doubt about what is meant. Oregon is the only state which has attempted to require that all children of school age should attend public schools. This was a piece of specific legislation, not an extension or application of a child labor law; and it was invalidated by the federal courts. There is no reason to suppose that the federal government would be more prone than the states to encroach upon the prerogatives of the home or the interests of the church if it had the same power. It stood, in fact, as a bulwark against such encroachment in the only case in which it was ever attempted by a state.

The case for the child labor amendment rests upon these simple and incontrovertible facts: Child labor requires limitation and regulation, primarily in the interest of childhood, secondarily in the interest of industry. State regulation is inadequate and unsatisfactory, first because it requires industries in states that have good laws to compete on disadvantageous terms with those in states that have bad ones or none at all, and second because there are states in which conscience on this subject has not become sufficiently sensitive to give adequate protection to children employed in factory and field. Because it is a national problem, only the federal government can satisfactorily handle it. It is impossible to frame a constitutional amendment giving Congress power to legislate in this field without giving it power to legislate unwisely, but this is merely a risk that is implicit in every delegation of power to any governmental agency. Since that risk, such as it is, already exists in the power now possessed by the states, it is diminished rather than increased by the grant of a corresponding power to the federal government. The amendment involves no threat to Catholic schools, or to the sanctity of the family, or to any other religious, moral or civic interest. It does give promise of bringing relief in a situation that is desperate for thousands of children and difficult for many employers.

The fate of the ratification resolution in the New York assembly is still in the balance as this is written. It is not a party question. The forces of both parties are divided. At this moment the Roman Catholic Church holds the balance of power. It will incur a serious responsibility and will sadly misrepresent its own tradition of interest in social welfare if, moved by the fear of a phantom danger to its own institutions, it persists in throwing the weight of its great influence against the ratification of the amendment.

The Great Debate

To any who have feared that democracy in the United States is losing vigor or effectiveness, the current debate over Mr. Roosevelt's proposal to reconstitute the membership of the Supreme Court should bring reassurance. So far the discussion is in its preliminary stages. Hearings before the Senate judiciary committee have not yet begun. The President has still to make his first attempt, by means of the radio, to win the support of the masses. Nevertheless the debate already engages the entire nation. Polls of all kinds assume to reveal the divisions in the national mind. Resolutions are pouring in on Congress from every conceivable sort of convention, organization and professional gathering. It may be doubted whether even the recent presidential campaign produced more "letters

to the editor." America is in process of making up its mind on an issue of exceptional political importance, and the way in which it goes about it should fill the soul of every believer in democracy with joy.

As was inevitable with an issue of such importance at stake, the early stages of the debate have been marked by somewhat more vehemence than calm thinking. The senators and other national leaders who have spoken over the radio have shown more of an inclination to apply derogatory adjectives to their opponents and to resort to familiar rabble-rousing stereotypes than to get down to serious argument. However, despite this tendency to substitute passion for reason, the struggle over the future of the court is already clarifying. And as clarification proceeds, it becomes evident that many of the fundamental premises on which the President has based his proposal are accepted—or at least not entirely rejected—by his opponents.

Passage of the Sumners-McCarren bill with virtual unanimity through both houses of Congress, offering full pay retirement allowance to any justice who leaves the supreme bench after reaching the age of seventy, must be reckoned as concurrence by all parties with the President's contention that the court needs new blood. Neither in Congress nor in the country at large has there appeared any important objection to this effort to induce six of the present justices to retire voluntarily. Such agreement that, while it might be bad policy to *force* elder justices off the bench, it would be in the national interest to *induce* them to leave, is possibly a longer step toward eventual adoption of the President's proposal than his opponents have perceived.

Already the dim outlines of a second agreement between all the foemen in this constitutional battle may be seen emerging from the text of the constitutional amendment which Senator Borah has introduced. It is not to be expected that the Borah amendment will play any large part in the approaching contest; in fact, there will hardly be surprise if it never comes to a vote on the floor of the Senate. It is probable, however, that an overwhelming majority of Congress and of the American people would agree with Senator Borah that the courts have created a serious problem in government by the manner in which they have interpreted the due process clause of the fourteenth amendment. What Senator Borah contends, by introducing this amendment, is that the courts have left human rights too largely at the mercy of business interests intent on profits and dividends. That, also, represents progress toward agreement with another of the major premises beneath the President's proposal.

Most interesting and important of all are the signs already multiplying, after only three weeks of preliminary debate, that the nation is moving toward agreement that some sort of constitutional amendment, or amendment of constitutional interpretation, is necessary. A fairly wide reading of the press shows that, even in quarters where opposition to Mr. Roosevelt's proposal is most bitter, there is a growing tendency to hold up the alternative of constitutional amendment as a more honest and a more satisfactory method of securing change. But the significant fact is that all argument of this sort tends to move those who make it to the place where the need for constitutional change is admitted. Walter Lippmann offers a good illustration of the way in which this tendency is working. Mr. Lippmann has been drastic in his characterization of the Roosevelt plan, but he has prefaced his opposition with the admission that there is an "underlying constitutional crisis" in American politics at the present time, and that "there is no doubt whatever that the American constitutional system is in certain important respects seriously out of joint." Well, if the President can gain that much agreement from his opponents as to another of his major premises, it is an agreement he can be counted on to use later with great effect.

The court debate seems, therefore, rapidly to be taking on much this form: despite the vigor with which the President's central recommendation is being fought, he is already in a position—or soon will be—to obtain agreement from most of his opponents that many of the premises which underlie his proposal are sound. They will agree that he has a mandate, given in the election, for carrying into effect in the nation's government the principles of the New Deal. However they may disagree as to detailed definition of those principles, they will agree that the New Deal is committed to more active participation by the federal government to control the national economic order for the benefit of the common man. The effort to do this, they will further agree, involves this "constitutional crisis" acknowledged by Mr. Lippmann. This crisis may be caused by the failure of aged justices to keep pace with the times; by a socially disastrous use of powers discovered in the fourteenth amendment; by the inability of the Constitution as it now stands to cover the contemporary needs of the nation. Whatever the cause, the crisis persists.

With this much agreed to by an enormous majority in Congress and in the nation at large, Mr. Roosevelt will then be in a position to press home the question: What is the President to do? Acknowledgment of the existence of a constitutional crisis imposes a responsibility on the chief executive to propose to the nation methods for dealing with it. If his proposal is attacked, while the need for action is conceded, he has a right to ask that his proposal be considered in the light of the alternatives offered. In other words, the President is already very nearly at the point where he can turn on his opponents with the challenge: "You admit, either directly or by implication, that something must be done. Very well then, how does what you propose to do compare with what I propose to do?" When the President flings out that challenge—as we have no doubt that he will—what will be the alternatives which will require consideration?

1. There will be some who, anxious to evade an issue so complex and difficult, will advise that matters be allowed just to drift along. "Trust time." This is to leave the development of government in the United States to chance; to make the authority of law in the republic a gamble between the accumulating wrath of the masses and the undertaker. And such citizens as see in the government of the nation more than a game

will hardly be content to go on leaving the final power in the hands of the dark gambler, Death. Chance has already played some queer tricks on the American people. It is not without point to recall that the three Presidents in modern times who have been most decisively rejected—two by vote of the people and the other by the verdict of history—have been allowed by chance to name an overwhelming majority of the Supreme Court. Taft appointed five members of the supreme bench; Harding appointed four; Hoover appointed three. Roosevelt, already longer in office than any of them, has yet to appoint one.

2. Senator Burke of Nebraska has sought to displace chance from playing such a part in the nation's life by offering a constitutional amendment which would force justices to retire on full pay at seventy-five. The amendment would permit them to retire, as does the Sumners-McCarren law, at seventy; it would require them to do so five years later. Since the President's own proposal centers attention on the personnel of the court rather than on the nature of the Constitution which the court interprets, there should be no surprise if, in the event of compromise between the President and Congress, the Burke amendment should become an important factor.

3. Senator Wheeler and Senator Bone have introduced another constitutional amendment which would give two-thirds of Congress the right to put into effect legislation vetoed by the Supreme Court, provided that an election intervened between the court's action and the second congressional vote. This is the change in constitutional procedure which Morris Ernst has proposed in his widely read book, *The Ultimate Power*. It would substitute a final control by Congress over the court in place of the present final control by the court over Congress. The proposal can be given powerful support as a measure designed to make the government of the United States truly democratic; compared with it, however, the Roosevelt proposal involves not a tenth as much upheaval in the existing constitutional system.

4. Senator Borah's proposed amendment, already mentioned, would restrict the interpretation of the due process clause to the execution of laws; it would bar the application of that phrase to the purpose for which laws are enacted. But it would also make control of the nation's economic life more completely than at present a matter for state action. As Senator Borah says, his amendment, if adopted, would make impossible such a verdict as the Supreme Court rendered last June (by a 5-to-4 vote) denying the state of New York the right to enact a minimum wage law to protect women and children. It would not, however, touch the more vital New Deal issues which have been before the Supreme Court, except to remove them farther from the orbit of the federal government.

5. An amendment will apparently be introduced soon giving the federal government power to make laws applying to agriculture, industry and labor. Dean Garrison, of the law school of the University of Wisconsin, is understood to be formulating such an amendment for presentation to Congress; whose name it will carry when it is fed into the legislative hopper is not yet settled. The difficulty implicit in passing such an amendment hardly needs pointing out. It can be put in the form of two questions: How can such an amendment be contrived, giving the government at Washington power over the economic life of the entire nation, without destroying what remains of states' rights? And how can an amendment which constitutes such a plain menace to states' rights hope to gain adoption?

6. Finally, at least for the present, the nation is offered the alternative proposed by Mr. Lippmann. Mr. Lippmann, admitting the necessity for some kind of constitutional change and that the present amending process makes it almost impossible to keep the Constitution abreast of the demands of modern industrial civilization, proposes that one part of the Constitution —the commerce clause—be set apart from the rest of the document to permit an easier method of amendment, and that then whenever economic issues requiring national action arise, specific grants of power be proposed to state ratifying conventions which must act within six months. In other words, Mr. Lippmann proposes that, in respect to the control of the nation's economic life, a referendum system be established under which each economic question as it arises—he illustrates by referring to the establishing of electric power plants or soil conservation—would be submitted to a national plebiscite. Of course an argument can be made in favor of such a proposal (and one against it) but it hardly seems fair for Mr. Lippmann, in presenting it, to berate Mr. Roosevelt for having attempted "to alter the fundamental structure of government." As between Mr. Lippmann's plan and Mr. Roosevelt's, the proportion of alteration involved would certainly seem to be heavier in the former than in the latter.

These, then, are the alternatives that are already being put forward to the President's plan to alter the constitution of the court, either by replacements or by additions. The Christian Century has not yet changed its earlier opinion that the President's plan is an unsatisfactory makeshift in that it does not get down to the fundamental issue. That issue concerns the right of the national government to legislate for the nation's economic life on a national basis. The vital decision on that issue, as it has come before the Supreme Court, remains the NRA decision. The NRA decision was a unanimous decision—nine to nothing that the federal government does not have power over most of the nation's business. We do not believe that appointing new justices really comes to grips with a constitutional issue as fundamental as that. We do not believe that anything short of a constitutional amendment can.

But is it possible that the President himself may not be completely satisfied with his present proposal as a means of dealing with the baffling but inescapable dilemma which confronts him? Knowing that a change in the personnel of the court can accomplish only limited and temporary objectives, but seeking those in lieu of larger gains which have appeared politically beyond reach, may he now find in the course which the debate is taking reason to hope for what once seemed unat-

tainable? If the debate over the court reaches a point where compromise of some sort is required, but by that time almost all Mr. Roosevelt's opponents have committed themselves to the need for constitutional amendment in some form, is it inconceivable that the President may likewise swing to the amendment party and lead in a movement which it would then be difficult to defeat, a movement to give the national government power over the entire economic life of the nation, without distinction between interstate and intrastate commerce?

It may seem mere fantasy to speculate in this fashion. But Mr. Roosevelt is a political leader who can think and plan a long way in advance of most of his contemporaries. And the debate over his court proposal, as we have tried to show, is already assuming a form through the putting forward of alternatives which would make such a later move on his part both logical and fairly easy to contrive.

God and You

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: I shall risk taking my theme from an old story. Once upon a time the Preacher walking down the village saw one of his flock busy in the garden which had been his only for a year or two. "What a splendid garden God and you have made!" said the Preacher. "You should have seen it when he had it to himself," the gardener answered.

This answer, as you will agree, opens the way to many great themes. Among them I can name at once: Freewill and Predestination, Wordsworth and the Romantic Teaching concerning Nature, Landscape Painting, the Modern Taste for Scenery, and The Teaching of Karl Barth. That preacher returned to his home with many questions in his mind, and his pen was doubtless busy that night.

You have friends, as I have, who are always ready to contrast what they find in nature with what they know of the works of man. Nature is all beautiful and only man is vile. If he had only left God alone! When I hear them rising to heights of eloquence on this contrast I ask them where they have found nature without man, whether they think it always gracious and beautiful and whether, when it is beautiful, they would have known it as beautiful but for all they have learned of the earth where man has been at work with God.

A traveler has described the islands and labyrinthine channels which form the southern extremity of South America: "The islands are densely wooded down to the water. If you land on them you find them almost untraversable, so dense is the growth of rotting trees. Nowhere can your foot reach the ground. Your progress must be made from bough to rotten bough and trunk to fallen trunk. The arboreal ruin densely clothes the earth. Everything is saturated with wet and the whole is a tangle of moribund vegetation. One of the largest islands is justly named the Land of Desolation." There without doubt God has had the place to himself. Clearly, if he made it for man, it was a place in which man had to fight to clear away the decayed matter, and indeed work a revolution. The romantic observer who says of nature that every prospect pleases, ought to consider the islands of desolation; he should also cast his mind back to the days in East and West before man had arrived. There is a world known to the geologist and the biologist; but it is not either beautiful or gracious. When the ichthyosaurus roamed through the marshes, and man had not yet come, the landscape was not one of which it could be said to man, "See how wonderful nature is without you!"

I am all for keeping man in his right place; he must not think too highly of himself. But justice should be done even to man and it is unjust to forget when we look at a landscape how much it owes to him.

And much more might be said of the bearing of this upon evolution and ethics, upon the Christian doctrine set forth when St. Paul tells how the whole created order waits for the revelation of the sons of God. The village field and the rotting forests wait for man to arrive, for man in his true dignity. The differences between the churches also emerge when I consider the conversation of the preacher and the gardener: St. Paul, St. Augustine, Luther, Calvin, Wesley, Barth—are all listening. For if you once touch this theme, you can never make an end. But I must, your patience being now at an end.

Ever yours thinking things together,

QUINTUS QUIZ.

VERSE

Isolation

WE know not one of all earth's millions wholly,
But catch mere signal-gleams that taunt the eye.
Each man is a lone planet drifting slowly
Through the night-spaces of a limitless sky.

STANTON A. COBLENTZ.

Morning Wakes Momentarily

NOW does the dawn's amazing alchemy
Bring incandescence out of darkness, till
The farthest reaches of infinity
Consolidate within the miracle.

Morning wakes momentarily: the sun
Climbs into sudden color, round and red;
Caught in time's loom, eternity is spun
Into the tautness of a vibrant thread.

Before my eyes the burnished hills become
More brittle with impending day, whose flame
Rekindles beauty to its maximum,
Restores in me a wonder without name.

CARL JOHN BOSTELMANN.

The Menace of the New Paganism

By Arnold J. Toynbee

IN THE first of this series of articles, published last week, Sir Walter Moberly confronted us with the adversary who is challenging Christianity today. He made it plain, I think, that this adversary is a rival religion—a *single* rival religion. True, this anti-Christian faith is coming into action under different names in different parts of the world; but the more these alternative versions of the post-war paganism insist upon their points of difference—the more they abuse and attack one another—the more clearly they betray their kinship with one another to the eyes of the Christian observer. And this element in each of them which is common to all of them is just the thing that makes them, all alike, incompatible with Christianity.

Let us begin by looking for a moment at the success which, in their own spheres, these new faiths achieve. Fascism and communism can dare to ask, and can be fairly sure of receiving, from their followers today a response which Christianity now hardly dares to ask, because it can no longer be sure of its hold upon the people who call themselves Christians. It is by making these large demands on human nature, and not by offering people the license to do as they like and live at their ease, that the post-war paganism has been winning its masses of converts. This means that it is indeed a formidable spiritual force. And we shall not think it any the less formidable when we discover the secret of its success.

Success of the New Faiths

I think one can see two reasons for the fascination which the post-war paganism undoubtedly does exert upon the rising generation. It not only appeals, like Christianity, to the impulse toward self-denial and self-sacrifice—an impulse which can, of course, be enlisted in a bad as well as in a good cause. The post-war paganism also gives its converts directions for their conduct in practical life; and these directions are of the kind which human nature craves for: they are simple, clear, concrete and confident. A believing fascist or communist can probably get more definite instructions than a believing Christian about how he is to behave here and now: whom to love, whom (in his case) to hate, what to fight for, what to worship. On a long view, this extreme concreteness may turn out to be one of the weak points of this paganism; but on a short view its plain answers to plain questions are a tower of strength. And on any view this exaggeration of what is surely a virtue in itself makes the post-war paganism an adversary which has to be taken very seriously by Christianity.

In its own estimation, this post-war paganism is indeed nothing less than Christianity's supplanter and successor. "Christianity," say the fascist and communist missionaries, "is an old religion which has had its chance and has failed to make use of it." Christianity, they say, has been in the world for ages and has not succeeded in making any appreciable difference to human life. If the spirit and teaching and practice of Christianity were really the way of salvation, they would surely have saved the world by this time. So today, they tell us, Christianity stands condemned by the verdict of history. It is, therefore, high time for Christianity to retire from the stage and yield the floor to a new religion which claims to have a better understanding of human nature, and believes for that reason that it can produce results where Christianity has nothing more substantial to its credit than a scrap-heap of unfulfilled and unfulfillable ideals. "Fascism and communism," say their preachers, "stand for pagan performance as opposed to Christian promise; they stand for deeds in place of dreams."

Christianity's Answer

This attack on Christianity is made by the post-war pagans in good faith. It is just this belief in their own program that is their strength. Yet this overweening pagan claim calls down upon itself a shattering Christian answer. The answer can be put in three points. In the first place, the really new thing in the world is not paganism but Christianity. In the second place, if there are any new features in the post-war paganism, they are features which this paganism has borrowed from Christianity. In the third place, the core of the post-war paganism, under its Christian varnish, is something as old as the hills—an ancient error which Christianity has fought and conquered not once but many times already. Let me try to put each of these points to you very briefly.

First, Christianity is not old but young. In thinking of Christianity as old, our modern pagans are unconsciously looking at history in the short perspective of a pre-scientific age. If you bear in mind the fact that the human race has been in existence not for mere thousands but for hundreds of thousands of years, and then think of the life of mankind on earth up to date in terms of the life of a single human being, you will see that A.D. 37 is no farther off from A.D. 1937 than yesterday is from today in your life or in mine. And, in this really very brief period of less than two thousand years, Christianity has in fact produced greater spiritual effects in the world than have been produced in a comparable space of time by any other spiritual movement that we know of in history.

Promises Fulfilled

Christianity promises to inspire men and women to lead a new life, and to teach them how to do it, and this promise has already been fulfilled in the lives of the saints. These lives are an earnest of a life that may be lived one day by all the members of the church on earth, for sainthood is not some half-legendary grace of the early church which died out within a few centuries of the church's foundation. It is a spiritual

power in Christianity which has broken out again and again wherever and whenever the church has been challenged by the world, as it is being challenged today. There was an outbreak of sainthood in sixteenth century Italy in answer to the challenge of the Renaissance, and another in nineteenth century France in answer to the challenge of the Revolution. And if Christianity rises to the present challenge from the post-war paganism, the appearance on earth of another batch of saints will no doubt be one of the practical concrete ways in which the church will be given the strength to deal with its present adversary.

The second point in our Christian reply to the pretensions of the paganism of today was, you will remember, that, so far as one can find anything new in the twentieth century paganism, this new thing is something that has been borrowed by paganism from Christianity itself. I do see one new thing in this latter-day paganism which is, I am certain, of Christian origin, and that is its wholeheartedness. Christianity has put into the spiritual life of man on earth an intensity which was never given to it by any older religion—not even by Zoroastrianism and Judaism which were Christianity's two forerunners. Christianity has done this by giving us a new insight into God's purpose in the world, and into man's part in that purpose—an insight which shows us the immensity of the importance of our conduct here and now. Christianity places our conduct in this life on earth in its gigantic setting of infinity and eternity, and by opening our eyes to this vast spiritual vision it calls out our deepest spiritual energies.

Pagan Practice of a Christian Virtue

Now I fancy that the present post-Christian form of paganism has succeeded to some extent in "stealing the thunder" of Christianity (to borrow a phrase from the vocabulary of primitive religion). This post-Christian paganism has succeeded in capturing, for its own trivial and narrow ends, some of that wholehearted Christian devotion which ought to be given to God alone. And if this has really happened it should be taken deeply to heart by Christians for two reasons. For one thing, this pagan practice of a Christian virtue shows up the lukewarmness and indecisiveness which have paralyzed so much of the Christianity of the modern age, for if the church had remained true to herself, she would not have seen her children transferring their allegiance elsewhere and laying their Christian spirit of devotion at the feet of false gods. And then, again, there is nothing so dangerous and so destructive as a wholehearted devotion that has been diverted from the service of God to the service of some lower object. The spiritual driving-force drawn from Christianity has given the new paganism a dæmonic power which the old paganism never wielded, and this power is—let us frankly admit it—tremendously formidable. If Christianity is to conquer a paganism that has been allowed to equip itself with the church's own weapons, the church will have perhaps greater need of God's grace than it has ever had before.

And now I come to the last of my three points. That is that, apart from the new Christian intensity with which our post-war paganism has managed to arm itself, this paganism which is challenging Christianity once more today is not a new thing in the world, as Christianity itself is, but, on the contrary, is something very old—as old, perhaps, as human nature. Our post-war paganism is, in fact, in one form or another, simply the idolatry which used to hold the field in the ages before Christianity appeared in the world, and which Christianity has always been struggling to weed out of people's hearts. In speaking of fascism and communism as idolatry, I am not just hurling a term of abuse at them. By "idolatry" I mean something which is, I think, quite definite and clear, and which is also, I think, written large on the face of both these two latter-day pagan movements. By "idolatry" I mean a religion which either does not know, or else refuses to recognize, that there is no god but God, and which therefore worships the creature instead of worshiping the creator.

The Old Idolatry

As the works of God's creation are infinite, idolatry has taken a great variety of forms. One form is the worship of organized human power. This organization of power may be local and sectional, or again it may attempt to embrace the whole of mankind; and either the local tribe or humanity at large may be, and has been, erected into an object of idolatrous worship. Each of these two ancient idols has now been set up on its pedestal again by the new paganism. The tribe is the idol of fascism; humanity is the idol of communism.

The high priests of tribalism preach to their devotees that the whole duty of man is comprised in the service of the local tribe into which a man happens to have been born. The tribesman's tribe is to be the tribesman's god. This tribal god is to have an exclusive claim upon the tribesman's allegiance and devotion. And this idolatrous worship necessarily debars the tribe-worshiper both from worshiping the one true God and from being his own human brother's keeper outside this one tribe's narrow limits. This tribe-worshiping form of idolatry is the religion of Ishmael, whose "hand will be against every man, and every man's hand against him." It was also the religion of Sparta, and of the other city states of ancient Greece with whom the Spartans were perpetually at war. And these ancient city states came to the bad end which in our day is threatening to overtake the national states into which Christendom has broken up in modern times. Sparta and the rest of them met the fate of the Kilkenny cats. They fought each other to extinction, and on their ruins was established that Roman Empire which became an object of idolatrous worship in its turn.

In the Roman Empire, a generation which had become disillusioned with tribe-worship found a new idol which, in contrast to Sparta and Athens, stood for the whole of mankind, and not just for one section of it.

The idolatrous worship of organized human power is the fatal error which is common to all the varieties of our post-war paganism. The error is so profound that the triumph of this paganism could spell nothing but disaster for mankind. But to say that human so-

ciety is not a proper object for religious worship does not, of course, mean that the tribe or the state or the nation or the world empire are evil in themselves. No doubt they have their place in human life, since man has been created as a social creature. But the function of these man-made social organizations is certainly not to usurp the throne of God. Their function—and it is an honorable though a humble one—is to serve as stepping-stones on the way toward the only society in which man can find a true satisfaction for his social nature; that is a society which, so far from usurping the place of God, has God himself for its principal member. The true home of man is the *Civitas Dei,* the "City of God" in which the common fatherhood of God creates a brotherhood between all the human citizens of the divine commonwealth—a brotherhood which cannot be established by any bond of which God himself is not the maker.

Crucifixion By Request

By Marcus Bach

THE VILLAGES of the Penitente as found in the Santa Fe region are distinguished by a *morada* or chapter house in which the esoteric rites are carried on. The *morada* might be mistaken for a lethal chamber were it not for a rough wooden cross usually embedded near by in the sands. The director of the *morada* and of the community is the *Hermano Mayor.* With his council of ten who constitute the Brothers of Light he rules as dictator in affairs civic and religious.

On Ash Wednesday the Penitente ceremonies begin with the weird piping of a flute. Silhouetted against the dimming sky of early evening a file of black-robed figures move from the *morada* to the *campo santo* or burial ground. At the head of the procession are four men crushed under with weight of heavy oaken crosses, dragging their bare feet through the briars, naked save for a white loincloth, their backs blistered and streaming with blood while grim-faced companions lash them unmercifully with the great whips.

Rivals for Crucifixion

Before Good Friday one of these four will be chosen as El Cristo. He, the fortunate one, will be crucified. If he lives he will be a hero and a political power in the community. If he dies he will be buried secretly in some lonely spot and his shoes will be placed at the doorway of the adobe in which he lived. A year later a cross will be planted over his grave.

Ash Wednesday is only a preparation for the Good Friday crucifixion. After reaching the *campo santo* the worshipers return to the *morada.* Wailing voices, thick with emotion, continue to chant:

> Praise be to Jesus and to Mary,
> Give ear to our cry,
> And may it please thee well.

The thud of the flagellants continues to resound over the bare backs of the ready victims. They do not cry out. They are very silent. When they stumble they are helped to their feet and whipped more solemnly.

Back in the *morada* the four cross-bearers, the tortured, lie prostrate on the caked floor near an improvised altar. A triangular candlestick raises twelve lighted candles over the gloomy scene. The followers crowd in. Some of the girls, dressed in white and black, carry images of the saints. Some of the old women clutch crucifixes in their weathered hands. One of the impersonators of Jesus, able to raise his head, pleads through his swollen lips: "Three meditations for the suffering of Christ!" The *Sangrador* (chief whipper) complies by lashing him three times across his sweltered back. Others find sufficient space in which to torture themselves, pass the *disciplinars* from hand to hand, strike themselves viciously over their shoulders. Soon the *morada* is filled with a sweating, bleeding mob, imploring the blood of this discipline.

Redemptive Suffering

Before Good Friday the novices will have their backs lacerated; the gashes will represent the sign of the cross and will be made with a piece of flint in the strong brown hands of the *Hermano Mayor.* While they stand waiting for the supervised lottery which will select one of them for the role of "the Christ" they will be whispering passionately to themselves, "Crucify me!"

The apparent horror of these ceremonies may blind us to the spiritual experience taking place within these writhing forms. We will hardly be convinced that in this gruesome ritual these worshipers find the deepest answer to religion's quest. But such is the case. To them flagellation vitiates its right to be regarded as worshipful and redemptive in so far as it leads to heroic living. It is, then, not far removed from the religions which teach mankind that suffering unites one with Jesus. To those who believe in it, it appears right.

Los Hermanos Penitentes is said to have descended from the Third Order of St. Francis. It is a hangover of thirteenth century practices when the "Disciplinati di Gesu Cristo" was the most popular organization in North Italy and other countries. Great processions of men and youths, stripped to the waist, masked, and carrying banners, scourged themselves and one another with the flagellarium. The blood they sacrificed was in commemoration of Christ's suffering and an attempt to sustain him in his mission of redemption. When ecclesiastical authority attempted to subdue this exaggerated penance, the practice caught the imagination of even more enthusiastic apostles.

Following the Black Death in the fourteenth century, the rite of flagellation assumed new proportions since devout men were convinced that some expiation was necessary to appease the wrath of the Plaguer. The Flagellantes banded themselves into an association under the new name of "The Brotherhood of the Cross." The devotees sustained voluntary scourgings twice a day while lying in the public square. Following these periods of torture the leader would read a letter purported to have been penned by an angel and forwarded to St. Peter's church admonishing self-torture and enlisting membership in the brotherhood.

From St. Francis to New Mexico

Throughout the succeeding centuries self-flagellation spread to almost every country where the seed of Christianity had been sown. It persisted during the Reformation and was indulged in by adherents of practically all faiths. It was encouraged by the early Jesuits and was at one time regulated by Pope Leo XIII. Among its disciples were numbered such saints as Benedict, Francis, Dominic and Loyola; and in the names associated with it we encounter Henry III of France, Louis IX, and Elizabeth of Thuringia.

Nowhere today does the practice persist with such enthusiasm as among the Penitentes of the United States. The order was established in New Mexico in the late sixteenth century. Don Juan de Onate, who founded San Juan, was its missionary. He was deeply spiritual and on one occasion, after receiving an answer to a prayer for pasture and watering place, he commanded his expedition of eight hundred souls to spend a night in penance and thanksgiving. De Villagra, one of the generals, describes the event: "The women and children came barefooted to pray at the holy shrine. The soldiers, with cruel scourges, beat their backs until the camp ran crimson with their blood. The humble Franciscan friars, barefoot and clothed in cruel thorny girdles, devoutly chanted their doleful hymns, praying forgiveness for their sins. Don Juan, unknown to anyone except me, went to a secluded spot where he cruelly scourged himself, mingling bitter tears with the blood which flowed from his many wounds. This continued throughout the camp till early morn."

You may witness a scene more startling than this on Good Friday evening. The *Hermano Mayor* covers the head of El Cristo with a black gallows mask. El Cristo becomes the central figure in a detailed reenactment of the crucifixion story. The Brothers of Light assume the roles of Pilate, Peter, John and begin to dramatize the events leading up to the murder of the Lord.

The procession leaves the chapter house led by the Piper. They are going to *Calvario*—the place of skulls—beyond *campo santo*. El Cristo struggles under the weight of a heavy cross. Behind him the *Sangrador* swings his great whip. El Cristo tries not to wince as the blows are laid across his naked back. His black-masked head is very tense. Days of flagellation throughout Lent and especially Holy Week have toughened him for this supreme sacrifice and torture which await him. He makes no sound. Behind him are three companions bearing equally large crosses. Another young man carries a sheaf of cactus thorns large enough for a pallet. Most of the shrouded forms which make up the stalking retinue are moaning or quoting scripture.

One by one the stations of the cross crudely set on *Calvario* are observed. The believers sing a hymn. Then "the Christ" drops his cross. He falls beside it exhausted and twisted with pain. Rough hands lay his body upon the tree. If he is able to speak he will probably beg to be nailed through his hands and feet. But the brothers will tie him with buckskin thongs. Nailing was abandoned several years ago due to an increasing number of deaths among the crucified. The thongs will serve. They are pulled taut and cause the fingers to stand out like claws against the pale blue of the cross.

The crowd makes no sound as the mask is jerked from El Cristo's head and as his cross is raised. It is dropped with a thud into a hole previously prepared. He who is crucified quivers. Only one person gasps. It is the mother of the chosen one. She makes her way to the foot of the cross and kneels against it. She weeps silently. She is very proud. Her son is the willing protagonist of the Good Friday story. He has "taken upon himself the sins of all." He has "come after Jesus." He has "become Jesus."

Now El Capitan takes a spear and gashes the right side of El Cristo. So, too, Jesus was pierced. And as he bled on Golgotha so this American bleeds on *Calvario* in the Sangre de Cristo mountains. The one who has carried the pallet of thorns flings it beside the mother and then throws his half-naked body upon it and lies still. The blood of the crucified drops near him. He on the cross raises his distorted face to the dark heavens as though trying vainly to say, "Into thy hands——." Soon his head falls forward and he is very quiet.

God and Man Reconciled

The Brothers Penitent are radiant. They have entered into a great peace. God and man are reconciled. They have a mediator who suffers for them willingly. They are the recipients of an overwhelming truth. And that is why, as they fasten their eyes on the purple-black form bleeding upon the cross, they sing:

> There is no one now
> Who is not worth something,
> Christ is already dead.

After forty-five minutes the unconscious martyr is lowered. The hands which unfasten him and transfer him to a clean white sheet are less brutal than before. No one shows much concern whether he is dead or dying. The piper blows upon his flute and the company begins its pilgrimage back to the *morada*. There, at last, some respite from excruciating pain is waiting. An *enfermero* with ointment hopes to restore El Cristo to life. The sufferer is placed in front of the altar and receives more or less gentle ministration. His passion for suffering is celebrated in the final ritual called the *Tinieblas* or reign of darkness.

While the body of El Cristo is being cared for the

candles are snuffed out one by one. An air-splitting charivari of chants and shouts ensues. Guns are discharged, kettles and pans are rattled, bells are rung, and an intermixture of cries and moans shakes the place. This is the "earthquake" symbolical of the one mentioned in the first Calvary story. The great whips are laid aside. Release from pain sets the walls ringing with hosannas of resurrection hope. *Hermano Mayor,* with a voice stronger than the rest, cries, "We are redeemed!"

You will be able to judge the deep sincerity of the Brotherhood Penitent only after you have mingled with them on ferial days and have drawn them out in regard to their religious practices. Visit with them while they watch their flocks of sheep and goats; go with them while they harvest their chili, wheat and frijoles; speak to them while they weave their blankets or mold their pottery. Only then will you learn what a redemptive part the torture and crucifixion play in their daily lives.

You will learn much from the Holy Week ceremonies, but beware of your life. Charles F. Lummis, who first succeeded in photographing a scene on *Calvario,* escaped with a bullet in his throat. This was in March, 1888. Carl Taylor was less fortunate. He paid with his life while writing an account of the Penitente prior to the Lenten activities of 1936.

Quezon Needs Gold for Guns

By Harold E. Fey

WHAT do our Manila visitors really want? With a publicity build-up which began in Shanghai and has continued with growing strength from San Francisco to New York, President Manuel Quezon and Field Marshal Douglas A. MacArthur of the Philippine Commonwealth have arrived in Washington. Something big is in the wind. What is it?

Of course, one useful by-product of this pilgrimage is that it has enabled President Quezon, an ex-Mason, to avoid the embarrassment of being in Manila during the great Eucharistic Congress. Another is that frequent visits of the brilliant Filipino leader keep the American people in a mellower mood toward the Philippines. A third is that it permits General MacArthur, who has been away from America for many months, to visit the homeland in the company of the good friend who gave him his un-American title of field marshal. All this, however, is incidental.

Money Needed for Militarization

The first item on our visitors' docket is to get money. The Philippines have adopted a program of military preparedness which makes every male Filipino between twenty and fifty a member of the army. Such militarization cannot be financed unless revenues are increased. It is hoped that rich Uncle Sam will provide help in two forms. First, if the threatened slow strangulation of Philippine economic life can be averted by liberalizing the tariff provisions of the Philippine Independence Act, the islands may expect increasing revenue from continued access to the world's wealthiest market. So the campaign will be renewed to revise the tariff sections of the law granting the islands their freedom. Second, President Quezon hopes to secure a big amount of actual and immediate cash, and to take it home with him as ocular demonstration to the Filipinos of his powers as a financial wizard.

Two huge sums, totaling about fifty million dollars, are claimed from the United States government by the Philippines. More than half of this amount is represented by the revenues of the coconut excise tax. The United States Supreme Court is expected to rule soon on the legality of passing over to the Philippines the proceeds of this tax.

The balance is alleged to be due to the islands upon the gold reserve of their currency since the United States devalued the dollar. That reserve, held in the American treasury, immediately became more valuable when we "went off gold." President Quezon, instead of permitting the suddenly acquired margin of value to remain as a bigger backlog behind his currency, needs it for other purposes, including the purchase of military equipment. Mr. Roosevelt has forced through Congress authorization that this sum be paid to the Philippines, but Congress has refused to appropriate the money and there is a strong movement, which President Quezon is watching, to repeal the authorization. With his astute appreciation of the political uses of drama, the Filipino president, who refused an Independence Bill signed by other Filipinos so that he could come to America and personally bring home an almost identical bill, hopes from one source or the other to be enabled to return to the Islands with his traveling bags full of gold.

Supplementing these economic motives, the present visit is intended to convince the American people that the course which the Philippine Commonwealth has set in its first year of semi-autonomous government is a good one. In the first year of its independent history, which ended November 15, 1936, the Filipino state embarked upon a clearly marked plan of development. That course runs in a direction almost exactly opposite to the one which the United States spent a futile "training" generation in outlining. It is no wonder that President Quezon approaches America with circumspection when he comes not only to get tacit consent to continue in an extremely doubtful course but also to secure money with which to help pay the bills.

The last speech which the Filipino president made before sailing, according to The Christian Century's correspondent in Manila, "was an impassioned defense of the program of military training now being carried

on in the Philippines." Alarmed by the barrage of unfavorable comment which has appeared in foreign papers on the Quezon-MacArthur plan to build a conscript army of over 1,000,000 men around a highly trained professional army of 20,000, the president adopted a much less boastful line than usual. He "made direct reference to the article, 'Sabotaging Filipino Schools,' published in a recent number of The Christian Century," and then attempted to prove that because the professional army would be small his program could not militarize the nation.

Who Pays the Bills?

But if compulsory military training for all Filipino teachers and for every child, girls as well as boys, above ten years of age does not have this effect, then the national defense act will have failed in its clearly stated purpose.* President Quezon himself said a few months ago, when he was attempting to convince skeptical Filipinos concerning the merits of Commonwealth Act Number One that it would "within ten years produce hundreds of thousands of trained individuals and eventually practically the entire population will have had military service." If this is not militarism raised to the *n*th degree of totalitarianism, then the Nobel peace prize for 1937 should be divided between Mussolini, who starts military training at eight, and MacArthur, who initiates goose-stepping at the ripe age of ten.

The disastrous effect of this plan upon the Philippine school system has already been discussed in these pages. Its bearing upon the economic life of the islands is not so obvious, but will probably have even more far-reaching results, and is undoubtedly a basic reason for the present visit. Most immediate, of course, is the problem of how the families of the conscripted men will live when they enter training camps for their period of intensive service. Five centavos, two and a half cents, a day amounts to seventy-five cents a month in United States dollars. That is the princely salary which the Filipino trainee will receive for the period of his active service to the state. Even in the Philippines, families cannot live on such a pittance.

A Warning from London

More significant is the part which the new conscript army will play in the period of drastic economic readjustment which lies immediately ahead. It is a matter of common knowledge that the economic system of the islands is not prepared to undergo the consequences of loss of the American market. Filipino leadership has been strangely inactive in formulating measures their people must take to prepare for this ruinous event. Instead of warning their people of the change that must come, they are waging an apparently hopeless battle to change the Independence Act provisions which place Philippine products under a progressively higher tariff during the latter part of the transitional period.

The perils the Philippines confront if they fail to provide compensation for their present favored position in the American market were pointed out by an English observer writing in the authoritative *Round Table* of London in September, 1936. "Should the tariffs take effect as scheduled," he said, "the subsequent outbursts in the islands might well be of the gravest extent, feeding on the same tinder as that which burnt in Mexico and Spain. Communism already exists in the islands, and would complicate an already grim picture. By 1940, too, the first exhilaration of autonomy would have worn away. Factional disputes among leaders are very familiar in the islands. President Quezon is building up a strong army, plainly for internal purposes. The Philippines need, and have always needed, a strong executive. But the borderline from that into a military dictatorship might easily and inescapably be passed under stress. Thereafter, the door is open to many eventualities. The internal stability of the islands would be gone."

The reasons why General MacArthur is interested in militarizing the Philippines are obvious. Here is an opportunity to create a force which will exceed one million trained men before 1946. Until that time its final loyalty must be given, according to the Philippine constitution, to the United States. When the war which the general anticipates breaks out in Asia this great force will not need to be transported across the world's widest ocean to be a factor in the struggle.

Preparations for a Dictatorship

But what may President Quezon expect this conscript army to do for him? First, if war comes, he will be in a better bargaining position. A large trained army will give him something substantial to offer in return for concessions. Second, he may anticipate in the meantime that conscription will stabilize social unrest and make life easier for capitalists. With his large sugar and other holdings, President Quezon has become one of the island's wealthiest men. In Japan and elsewhere, conscription has created a situation where large investments are, temporarily at least, safer. A conscript army easily becomes an instrument for the suppression of disaffection that might otherwise seriously challenge the economic status quo. It affords the rulers a channel for indoctrinating the people with whatever conception of the state they favor.

The first year of commonwealth government indicates that conscription is the most important agency in schooling Filipinos for fascism and nationalism. With the entire male population compelled to register at the age of twenty and to be subject thereafter to military service until they reach fifty, with the practice of suppressing nonconformity through the application of a vicious sedition law (inherited from American rule), with the iron hand of courts-martial available for use during the long years in which a man is subject to army regulations, the commander-in-chief of the Philippine forces is in position now completely to short-circuit civil processes and to rule the nation as a dictator.

In fact, considerable progress has already been made in this direction. Recently Severo Dava, editor of

*"The purpose of preparatory military training shall be as follows: To develop the national spirit; to make the youth physically strong, to make the youth morally confident, and to prepare the youth for military service." Article VII Sec. 80 Commonwealth Act No. 1.

Kalaayan, a vernacular newspaper of Manila, was convicted of sedition. His paper was suppressed. According to the *Philippines Free Press*, his sedition consisted of "criticizing the national defense act and President Quezon." Philippine prisons already contain considerable numbers of political prisoners. When it was suggested that the end of the first year of Commonwealth government be signalized by a general amnesty to such unfortunates, a mysterious outbreak of incendiarism strangely reminiscent of the Reichstag fire not only headed off the amnesty but was made the occasion for a general roundup of other critics of the regime. So the national defense act is already demonstrating its potency as an instrument for effecting the peacetime transfer from democracy to fascism. We on this side should not forget that it carries the trade mark, "Made in America."

Evidence that the domestic uses of the Philippine army are important may be found also in the location of the training barracks. Instead of situating them where they would have strategic value against a possible invader, they are most numerous in those regions which have been the focus of serious social unrest. For example, in central Luzon the village of Tayug, where the land records were burned and a number of people were killed in an uprising a few years ago, is to have one of the stations. Owners of large sugar "centrals" are patriotically donating land so that barracks will be located within easy reach.

Keeping Uncle Sam in Asia

Another aspect of the militarization of the Philippines is the effect of this program upon American involvement in the Far East. Soon or late this country will be forced to face certain grave political questions which are already deeply complicated. For example, what will be the effect upon America's relations with Japan of the organization of this army of a million men? Since they owe their final allegiance during the transition period to the American flag, they are at the disposal of our general staff in any war in the Far East. Until July 4, 1946, we are responsible for the Philippine national defense act and all its fruits. This is particularly true because it is being launched and supervised by an officer who is still on the pay-roll of the United States as a soldier in active service and who is stationed in the Philippines through an act of Congress signed by President Roosevelt on May 14, 1935.

It is obvious that the American Congress, which thought it was divesting itself of responsibilities when it passed the Philippines Independence Act, is being outwitted by a number of forces. Of these an American general whose obsession is war with Japan and a Filipino president who is afraid of domestic unrest are the willing tools. Instead of withdrawing from the turmoil which is likely to continue in the Far East for a long time, we are becoming more entangled than ever, but without the consent of Congress, our regularly constituted civil authority. Although it is fairly clear that the present high command in the American army is not enthusiastic about MacArthur's achievements, our naval leaders, who have been saying for years that the Philippines could not be successfully defended against an attack by a major power, now are contending that with this new Philippine army and with the new American navy, the islands will be so formidable that no nation would attempt to pay the price of their conquest. While Congress speaks the language of a people who have renounced imperialistic ways, our military missions and our admirals begin once more to dream of "Manifest Destiny" in the Far East. Backing them is President Roosevelt. His appointment to the High Commissionership of the Philippines of Governor McNutt, militarist ex-commander of the American Legion, indicates that he approves of the present policy and wants the civil representative of America to help carry it out.

Flirting with Capitalist Exploiters

Taken in the light of the desire of the Filipino leaders to retain the advantage of free access to the American market, this new development indicates the probable indefinite retention of a tie which the people of both nations desire to terminate. The limited economic resources of the Islands will not be able to bear the cost of the expensive program of military expansion upon which the Quezon-MacArthur regime has started. Loans and increasing dependency upon the United States are therefore indicated sooner or later. If commercial ties increase, as they must if the present visit to America succeeds, then Filipinos must offer attractive opportunities for the investment of capital for development. President Quezon's trump card will probably be played in the form of concessions of this kind. Just before he left Manila he offered to trade naval bases for trade concessions. If this is not acceptable he may offer to amend the land laws, the last defense of the small farmer, so that great capitalists like Firestone will not again be forced to pass up the Philippines for Liberia to establish rubber plantations. Then, if the Filipino standard of living can be forced down further—as it can with a large enough army—sugar, tobacco, copra and rubber can be produced in competition with the sweated products of the other East Indian countries.

Growing Pressure Within

The recent Sakdalist uprising is a clear warning that the present attempt to freeze the economic status quo through fascist repression will lead to revolution. The Filipino people, patient and gentle as they are, will not indefinitely endure tyranny without protest and resistance. And revolution is certain to lead to intervention once again. Internal order in the Philippines is of concern to Great Britain, to Holland, to France, and to Japan, for the Commonwealth is the buffer between their possessions. Would the United States permit one of them to intervene? The question answers itself. If the leaders of the Philippine government were true statesmen, they could insure the continued freedom of their nation by taking steps to insure domestic tranquillity through justice and fair dealing with their own people, instead of leaving them with no instrument for the redress of grievances except insurrection.

BOOKS

Is It As Bad As That?

IS IT PEACE? A STUDY IN FOREIGN AFFAIRS. *By Graham Hutton. The Macmillan Company, $2.50.*

CAPTIONED by a phrase drawn from II Kings 9:22, this book attempts to summarize the main lines of international development from the armistice to the Spanish civil war. Its author is an assistant editor of the London *Economist,* and his book is the result partly of his professional labors and partly of special study.

The essence of the volume is the contention that since the World War the whole fabric of European society has shockingly disintegrated. This decay the author traces in a striking passage (p. 283) through every area of European life—"religion, property, representative government, marriage and the family, individual liberty of movement, enterprise, and expression." Its fruits, he says, are (1) "an uprush of a cynical realism which has almost completely banished the twin attributes of imagination and sympathy from European societies," and (2) "a lack of individual conviction, a lack of firm certitude in the worth-whileness of progress and endeavor for the sake of material and moral advancement." Variants of these basic charges are repeated many times.

Before examining the inherent merit of these contentions, the reviewer would like in fairness to say that in their development many excellent features appear. Noteworthy is the absence of economic dialectic. There are sapient summaries of modern nationalism. Here and there are striking aphorisms, such as "[it is the] contention of the dictators that man can indeed live by bread alone, as long as he gets circuses." There are well-written historical summaries of the Far Eastern imbroglio, of the age-old Franco-German rivalry, of Russian development and kindred matters in eastern and central Europe, and of the main lines of British foreign policy since the days of Queen Elizabeth but especially since 1918. There are some shrewd comments on the contemporary war in Spain, reminding one of Allison Peers' new book. There is a discussion of the awful nature of the next war which agrees perfectly with the thought of Liddell Hart in his latest volume. That there are several minor blunders of historiography (pp. 70, 75, 190, 204) does not seriously mar the value of these sections.

Nevertheless, a serious question concerning the book must arise in the reader's mind. It arises from the very nature of the major premises, already quoted, on which the book is founded. Granting that trans-Atlantic conditions are bad, has the author done full justice to European life in toto? To the reviewer, at least, this seems questionable. There appears to be an emphasis on the failures of diplomacy since 1918, and a lack of material on the more cheerful side of things. For example, Mr. Hutton's bitter strictures against the supineness of British leadership since the war might have been softened by a mention of the great peace poll of 1935, or by a more adequate summary of Britain's part in the Saar plebiscite that same year. The scornful remarks about the leaders of European statecraft should be balanced by a frank admission that these same leaders have in fact kept their world free from a major conflict during a period of crises and "incidents" absolutely unparalleled in modern history.

In other words, it strikes the reviewer that Mr. Hutton lacks a little of the spirit of the late Elihu Root. In its noble editorial tribute to the latter, the New York *Times* stated: "Time had taught Mr. Root forbearance and patience. He was not discouraged by the rise of fanatical nationalisms, the babbling of arrogant and angry tongues, wars and threats of war." Or, as Philip Guedalla remarks in his new book: "... dictatorship is only a device by which an air of permanence is lent to temporary retrogressions." Or, as the head of the Association of American Railroads has said (in another connection): "Get me right, I'm not going to talk bullish. . . . But people are overdoing this pessimism." These are three wise statements, and Mr. Hutton, along with all other historians, should ponder them.

To the question posed by this book, "Is It Peace?" no absolute answer can be returned. But a more reassuring answer than that given by Mr. Hutton can be and should be made. There are signs of hope on the international skyline. Consider President Benes' recent declarations; reflect on the "guns vs. butter" attitude of Foreign Minister Eden; note the viewpoint of Walter Millis in his just-published volume; study the results of the *Christian Science Monitor* survey of European affairs. Dr. Mackay in his recent installation address at the Princeton Theological Seminary suggested that the establishment of an attitude of faith and hope concerning the scheme of human life is a "major intellectual need" of this generation. In sober reflection, can we doubt either that he is right or that there are some grounds on which such an attitude, even in 1937, can be based?

We desire no Pollyannas; we want men of large faith who see life steadily and see it whole. We need no shallow optimism; we seek conviction about the essentially good nature of the human universe. To offer only a series of discouraging analyses of the trends of our generation, with little or nothing to relieve the gloom, is to proffer not the bread which men crave but a rather cold and unsatisfying stone.

J. DUANE SQUIRES.

Books in Brief

ART AND SOCIETY. *By Herbert Read. The Macmillan Company, $4.00.*

At first glance this appears to be a brief, brilliant and beautifully illustrated history of art. Its purpose, however, is quite different from that. The adjectives in that description can stand, but the substantive part of it is wrong. It is not a history but a discussion of certain large periods and broad aspects of art with a view to proving the thesis that the art of any time and place is related to the contemporary social order not as a by-product but as one of the creative factors which produce it. The author therefore takes issue at the outset with Mr. Wells who says, and the many who think, that art is the adornment of an age rather than an element in its creative substance. It may be remarked that art always represents a "dialectical" tension (to borrow a word from a certain school of current theologians) between the rational and the imaginative. The illustrations and applications of Mr. Read's thesis are more important than the bare proof of it. He touches many aspects of culture, ancient and modern, as well as many figures and facets of art, and always with illumination.

THE DISCIPLES OF CHRIST AND RELIGIOUS EDUCATION. *By W. C. Bower and Roy G. Ross. Christian Board of Publication, $1.25.*

The Disciples had Sunday schools almost as soon as they had churches, but it was only twenty-five years ago that their cooperative work in that field passed from the stage of state "Sunday school evangelists" to that of an organized national department of religious education. Two of their most competent leaders in this work have written this book which, while serv-

ing to mark the quarter-century anniversary, covers the whole history of religious education among the Disciples from the beginning. While the scope of the book is denominational, its spirit is not. It is worth noting that one of the authors is a professor in the University of Chicago and the other has recently become secretary of the International Council of Religious Education.

HERITAGE OF BEAUTY. *By Daniel Johnson Fleming. Friendship Press, $1.50.*

Professor Fleming, of Union Theological Seminary, is in the front rank of American experts on missions. As a minor specialty within his general field of interest, he has for years been making the observations and collecting the illustrations which enter into these "pictorial studies of modern Christian architecture in Asia and Africa illustrating the influence of indigenous cultures." Varying degrees of success have attended the effort to build mission churches in the Orient and in Africa which would not look foreign. Sometimes it has gone no farther than to suppose that the Chinese would feel more at home in an otherwise purely Occidental building if the corners of the roof were turned up. Sometimes, as in Honolulu, uncompromisingly Puritan meeting-houses have been erected as a bold proclamation that the gospel to be heard within them was a direct importation from New England. This also has its merits. But the mass of pictorial evidence which Professor Fleming has assembled—beautiful pictures of beautiful buildings—makes it impressively clear that in many cases the indigenous influences have made themselves effectively felt, and that the Christians of the native churches have been intelligently assisted in adapting their own "heritage of beauty" to Christian uses. The book not only has architectural and esthetic interest but also throws an illuminating sidelight on the spirit of modern missions.

THE TEXAS NAVY. *By Jim Dan Hill. University of Chicago Press, $2.50.*

"Texas" and "navy" seem unrelated words. One thinks of prairie schooners; or, if they are ruled out, of Mr. Bryan's "Swiss navy" or Shakespeare's "seacoast of Bohemia." But Texas has a long coastline with some harbors, and it had a navy during the decade of its independence. The clash between Texas and Mexico began on the water in 1832, and the seadogs of Texas played an important though unpublicized part in the struggle for separation. The author has gone to the sources for his data and has done a substantial piece of research. Incidentally he provides such justification as is possible for the Mexican war: (a) Mexico's title to Texas was merely technical, with little actual occupancy; and (b) the "Anglo-Texans" had substantial grievances about taxes, trade, shipping, courts and the administration of justice, comparable to the grievances of Massachusetts and Virginia in 1775. It would have saved trouble in the long run, thinks the author, if the American immigrants had from the start ignored "the fiction of Mexican sovereignty." But then, of course, we would have had to find some other excuse for taking California and New Mexico, the Mexican title to which could scarcely be called a fiction.

CORRESPONDENCE

The Court Debate

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: I voted for Mr. Roosevelt, and am strongly in favor of placing some curb on the Supreme Court. But I do not desire to see it done by a method which should bring the blush of chagrin to an honest man's face. As Senator Wheeler has well said, liberalism cannot afford to win by devious or underhanded ways. The simple truth is that the President is attempting an improper and clumsy expedient, one of the most dangerous sort; and sought to put it over on the people by a sly and roundabout method which you would condemn most bitterly in the advocate of any policy you were opposed to, but which you content yourselves with treating with a "slap on the wrist" in this case.

Please note that the Democratic platform of last year solemnly pledged the party to use every possible open and candid means to bring the courts in line with progressive policies, and if that proved impossible then to seek solution of this vexed situation by amendment of the Constitution. Is President Roosevelt keeping faith with this promise?

Pasadena, Calif. FRANK C. REID.

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: I find myself wondering how you can look with a friendly eye, let alone speak kindly, concerning the dangerous program of our President as regards the Supreme Court. I am in hearty sympathy with Dr. John McDowell, for many years the honored secretary of the commission on social welfare of the Presbyterian Church, U.S.A. Speaking at the World's Day of Prayer service at the Central Congregational Church, Brooklyn, the church of which Dr. S. Parkes Cadman was long pastor, Dr. McDowell said: "The most dangerous person in America today is the person who is seeking some constitutional or political reform for the sake of personal gain, partisan power or official prestige, and when that person is an elective officer he is all the more dangerous."

Dr. McDowell, who as a Scotch immigrant rose from a Pennsylvania miner to become the head of his church, is one to whom we should listen with respect. He has not stated the case one whit too strongly. I believe that I am familiar with the demands of social justice, that I appreciate the need for social action in many directions; yet I cannot see any good reason for setting aside the Constitution of the United States, nor for invalidating the powers of the Supreme Court in order to meet the claims for instant reform. Let us go slowly lest we lose these priceless possessions.

Bayonne, N. J. GEORGE J. BECKER.

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: Your editorial seems to me to appraise too low the value, in a democracy, of some influence that shall retard the mercurial tendency that popular majorities are subject to. It is obviously important to make sure the road is always open for the settled will of the people to register itself with precision, but adequate provision for that should be carefully distinguished from license for an emotional flare-up to register too quickly and too permanently. Nothing can be more certain than that so long as a weighty minority is not satisfied, the last word has not yet been said. In a complicated and difficult situation the course of wisdom is not often quickly found.

Newberg, Ore. W. W. SILVER.

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: Thanks for your sane and dispassionate editorial, "The President and the Court." It was a pleasant relief from the hysterical, blindly partisan diatribes which most of the press has dished up for our supposed edification. As a layman I am not properly equipped to pass final judgment, one way or the other, on the proposals, but I am sufficiently competent to distinguish between calling of names and reasoned argument—on this particular question, at the present time, we need less of the former and more of the latter.

Many of the opponents to the suggested change seem to fail to understand we live in a democracy, and the only way we have for expressing the real public opinion and desires of the citizens is by the secret ballot in the polling booth; that at least is the

convincing way. The last election proved that the press of the country did not express public opinion. Even the supposedly infallible *Literary Digest* was utterly amiss in disclosing public opinion. Certainly the electorate in November voted approval of the attempts of the administration to deal with current problems, and indicated their desire that the President should continue along the same lines, which he declared without reserve he would. In the past the cry of his critics has been that his methods are "unconstitutional." Now that a constitutional proposal has been made, the wails are even more passionate and angry. Is there any possibility that behind all this hue and cry there may not be a certain philosophy, which some of us at least do not accept?

All who oppose the President's plan to revitalize the membership of the Supreme Court do not hold that property rights are fundamental, but the vast majority who hold that philosophy are most certainly in the opposition.

Winfield, Kan. "KANSAN."

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: From my boyhood recollections comes a story my father used to tell as a warning against hasty and ill-considered action which has a particular bearing on one of our insistent present day problems. The story is that of an old farmer and his boys who were killing rats about the barn. In some way the barn was fired and when the boys desisted from rat killing to save the barn the old farmer shouted: "Go on with your rat killing. Let the barn burn."

This story applies to the present attempt of our chief executive to place the Supreme Court under his control. It applies with peculiar force to the attitudes expressed in your editorials in the February 17 issue of The Christian Century, entitled, "The President and The Court," and "Morals in a Sit-Down Strike." That the attitudes for which your editorials offer a rather shamefaced apology will lead in the direction of establishing rights in the job or in liberalization of judicial attitudes is by no means clear. In fact, if past history is a reliable guide, if they lead to either result at all it is by exceedingly devious routes and the presumption that they lead in the opposite direction is far more tenable.

Wilmette, Ill. J. C. MARTIN.

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: I have just finished reading your editorial, "The President and the Court." It seems to me that you are a bit inconsistent. At the beginning you state: "With minor exceptions, those who supported the President last November are supporting him now; those who opposed him then, oppose him now." Then in your last paragraph you say, "A constitutional amendment might take years." The President carried forty-six out of the forty-eight states. If the people who voted for him last fall are still with him on the matter of a constitutional change he ought to have little difficulty in getting the support of thirty-six states. He had slight difficulty in putting over the 21st amendment. Furthermore if he were so sure that the people were with him on this method of constitutional change, why did he not make it an issue in the campaign? Is not this political strategy which is so frequently practiced by the President responsible for the distrust of a large number of people who are honest friends of democracy?

Troy, Ohio. ROBERT KENNEDY.

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: I appeal to you to use your great influence against the proposed measure to limit the power of the Supreme Court and make it subservient to the executive. This body, removed as it has been from partisan and political control, is the safeguard of our democracy. I believe that the President is wrong in his assumption that the people of this country have given him a mandate for a dictatorship.

Toledo, Ohio. MRS. NATHAN RAMSEY SIMMONS.

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: Since most of the letters to the editor regarding the Gospels and the Judaizers seemed rather critical, may I say how good and balanced I think your editorial, "The President and the Court." As a detail his position would probably be technically strengthened if he made the retiring age 72 or 73. When we got used to the court of, say, eleven members—which is about the way it would work out—it would probably function as well as a court of nine members.

There is an unescapable element of what the Book of Ecclesiastes calls time and chance in the whole affair. Since 1900 there have been only two periods in which social liberalism (or whatever word you please) has had any chance to function through the appointment of justices. Now is one of those periods. It might be lost in the next presidential election and a single reactionary administration could determine the court's temper for another long period. It is not as easy as the President's critics make it to find the best way out.

Auburn, N. Y. GAIUS GLENN ATKINS.

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: Pared to the bone your editorial expresses the old maxim that "the end justifies the means." If the umpire's decisions are against your team and victory is imperative at whatever cost, take out the umpire by force and replace him with one who will decide in favor of your side. My preference would be frankly to abolish the Supreme Court altogether.

Somerville, Mass. J. E. PEMBER.

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: I have been a subscriber to your journal for a long time and have endured with patience many things. But this last offense is beyond endurance. Your whole attitude during the campaign annoyed me, for I expected the paper to take at least an ethical attitude. I found it took the narrowest partisan attitude and even failed to gag at the conduct of Farley. Farley bought the last election by the corrupt use of about 15 billions of money taken from the whole people.

Newberg, Ore. B. H. JONES.

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: I believe every thoughtful reader of your magazine is grateful to you for the quiet but comprehensive study on "The President and the Court." In contrast to the run of hectic and passionate comment, yours is distinctly helpful.

Brandon, Vt. OSCAR L. STEVENS.

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: In your editorial on "The President and the Court" you rightly call attention to the alternative of a constitutional amendment. You seem to share the popular view that all constitutional amendments take unduly long for ratification; this is not true.

The first date in the following is the one on which the secretary of state certified to the states that the amendment was proposed to them by the Congress; the second date is the one on which he certified that the amendment was in effect.

XVI	Income Tax	July 12, 1909	February 25, 1913
XVII	Election of Senators	May 16, 1912	May 31, 1913
XVIII	Prohibition	December 18, 1917	January 29, 1919
XIX	Woman Suffrage	June 4, 1919	August 26, 1920
XX	"Lame Duck"	March 2, 1932	February 6, 1933
XXI	Repeal	February 21, 1933	December 5, 1933

Not one of the last five has taken longer than fourteen months.

You write that the President "believes that his overwhelming reelection constitutes a mandate from the people to govern the nation according to the principles and philosophy of the New Deal." If so then it does not make sense to say that this overwhelming support, ably supplemented by the efficient organization of the Democratic party, could not secure, in record time, the ratification of an amendment expanding the powers of the federal government.

Stanford University, Palo Alto, Calif. EDWARD C. JENKINS.

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: The real question, it seems to me, is this. How can the President under our present scheme of government carry out the mandate of the American people as expressed by the votes of the majority in the election? In my opinion, however, his proposals

as far as they concern the Supreme Court do not go to the heart of the problem. They seem to be directed only toward meeting a particular situation and to be determined by expediency. They apparently assume that new appointees would be in accord with the political philosophy of the people at the present time. This assumption is not necessarily true. At any rate, I believe, the people should have control of their government at all times, although that control should be restrained in its exercise so that action may not be capricious, arbitrary and without deliberation. Nevertheless, the people in this democracy should have the power to make its will effective. Justice Stone in the AAA case said that "while unconstitutional exercise of power by the executive and legislative branches of the government is subject to judicial restraint, the only check upon our own exercise of power is our own sense of self-restraint." This statement seems to point the way to the solution of the difficulty. The justices of the Supreme Court have failed to exercise self-restraint in the use of their power. The American people in the interests of free democracy must devise means for imposing restraint upon the court.

Sweet Briar College, HARRIS GARY HUDSON.
Sweet Briar, Va.

It Happened in Oregon

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: Sometimes our Methodist sins catch up with us! For two weeks several of us have interested ourselves in a bill which has been introduced into the Oregon legislature, known as the civil rights bill. It provides penalties for any proprietor of a public place who shall refuse to serve anyone because of race, creed or color. The proposed bill was referred to the notably conservative judiciary committee, where only one member was in favor of the bill. Various church and socialist speakers appeared before the committee hearings in support of the bill, and particularly we Methodists urged enactment. At the final hearing one of our leading liberal Methodist ministers was presenting the endorsement of the local ministerial association. One of the tory committeemen inquired of the spokesman what his own denomination was. When he replied that he was a Methodist the committeeman replied: "So you come before us to ask us to impose a requirement upon the state of Oregon which your church does not itself practice? Am I not correct in stating that racial segregation is now the law of your denominational organization?"

The measure was decisively defeated.

Salem, Ore. MONROE M. SWEETLAND.

Presbyterians and Child Labor

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: A few weeks ago your valued journal referred to a criticism of the proposed child labor amendment which appeared in certain Presbyterian journals. These journals are not the official publications of the Presbyterian Church, U.S.A. The official position of the Presbyterian Church, U.S.A., is that which was expressed by the 1936 General Assembly, which passed the following resolution: "That the Assembly go on record in favor of the adoption of the proposed child labor amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which will make possible the enactment of national child labor laws."

Philadelphia, Pa. CHARLES J. TURCK.

In Answer to Inquiries

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: We have your letter stating that The Christian Century is receiving inquiries from correspondents on the west coast concerning the activities of Dr. E. L. Eaton, and asking about his relation to the Anti-Saloon League. Dr. E. L. Eaton was formerly employed as a field secretary of the Anti-Saloon League of America. During the spring of 1936 a difference of opinion arose between Dr. Eaton and the general officers of the league regarding the policy to be followed in the presidential campaign of that year. This matter was the subject of editorial comment in the columns of The Christian Century in the issue of April 22, and in the subsequent issue of May 6, 1936. It was felt that the personal, partisan activities of Dr. Eaton in connection with the campaign were inconsistent with the nonpartisan policy to which the Anti-Saloon League is committed by its constitution. Dr. Eaton's relationship with the league was terminated as of May, 1936, and he has not been in any way connected with the organization since that date and is not authorized to represent it.

We should appreciate it if you would publish this letter in your correspondence column in order that your inquiring readers may be advised.

Anti-Saloon League, EDWARD B. DUNFORD.
Washington, D. C.

Not in Proper Shape

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: I am grateful for the notice you take in your issue of February 17 of my protest against the pending plan of Methodist unification. I am the more grateful because the press of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, and of the Methodist Episcopal Church has refused to permit my statement of the matter in the columns of their Advocates. In my own denomination, the secretary of the editorial board writes: "At a meeting of the board, it was decided that your communication was not in proper shape for publication and therefore did not call for attention upon the part of the papers they represent." Thus, it seems to me that the Christian church is repeating her historic role of intolerance against those who have conscientious differences with her on matters that are vital to social well-being.

St. Mark's Methodist Episcopal Church, L. W. KING.
New York City.

[Dr. King's appeal to the National Council for the Advancement of Colored People that a legal injunction be sought to prevent the union of the Methodist Episcopal Church with the Methodist Protestant Church and the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, on the ground that the proposed plan involves racial discrimination, received wide publicity both in the religious and the secular press. Dr. King was for many years the editor of the *Southwestern Christian Advocate*, one of the official publications of the Methodist Episcopal Church.—THE EDITORS.]

The Question Box

Please explain I Peter 4:6, "For this cause was the gospel preached also to them that are dead." W. M. F., Cedar City, Utah.

THE writer is referring back to the statement made in chapter 3:19, according to which, by the plausible emendation of the text made by Dr. Rendall Harris that by a scribal error the name of the patriarch was omitted, an emendation accepted by most modern scholars (Moffatt, Goodspeed, etc.), it was Enoch who went and preached to the imprisoned spirits. The reference is to the story told in the book of Enoch (see the note on 3:19 in the Moffatt text). To these dead the gospel was preached by the patriarch, that while they were judged for the sins committed in the flesh (2 Pet. 2:4, Jude 6), they may be redeemed in the spirit.

It is apparent that upon the questionable interpretation of this passage the entire fabric of Jesus' legation to the underworld, and his "preaching to the spirits in prison" has been erected. It is the assumption which is read into several of the creeds, even the so-called Apostles Creed, although not explicitly stated there beyond the statement that "he descended into hell." But nowhere else in the Scripture, save in this doubtful text, is the idea of the Master's evangelistic visit to the abode of the dead even hinted. Yet volumes of imaginative theology have been devoted to the subject, and it is much in use by sects who preach the doctrine of the "second chance." Whatever may be the value of that theory, this uncertain utterance is a weak foundation on which to construct it. H. L. W.

Promote Many Church Mergers

New York State Council Organizes "Larger Parishes"—Progress In Rural Church Work

(Correspondence from Albany)

ALBANY, N. Y., Feb. 27.—The New York State Council of Churches and Christian Education closed the year 1936 with all bills paid and adopted a 1937 budget, $1,000 larger than the previous year's. Dr. Walter J. Rollins was reelected president for the third time and secretaries Wilbur Clemens and T. Basil Young continue their successful service.

A feature of the year's developments has been the work of the comity committee, Rev. Walter D. Cavert of Oswego, chairman. The committee took a master list of communities, 70 in number, where denominational home missionary money was being expended by competing churches. This list was furnished by the Home Missions Council. The committee with Dr. Clemens have corrected this situation in 26 of the communities. There has been some trading of fields, some churches have merged and three larger parishes have been formed.

* * *

Seven Churches Become Two

One of the most interesting pieces of church work in a generation has been attempted in the area around Van Hornesville, N. Y. The famous business leader, Owen D. Young, was born there and makes his summer home there. He has assisted various community projects, especially the building of a splendid central school, but the religious situation stumped him. Here is an area of 175 square miles, 2,100 people, 535 of them under 18, with seven Protestant churches, none of which has a resident pastor. Only 65 of the children were enrolled in any Sunday school. He called in Dr. Clemens of the state council. The churches have been led to form a larger parish and unite on two ministers, one Baptist and one Methodist. Although there are no Presbyterians in the area, Miss Margaret Harris, a Presbyterian expert in religious education, has been engaged to serve the parish. She has already begun to work; the preachers will come later. Arrangements are being made for weekday schools, vacation schools, Sunday schools. Young people are being trained for service and a new day is dawning for this backward community, which is only about 50 miles from Albany. There is a Greek Orthodox church monastery in the area and even the nine Russian monks are becoming interested. Credit for this work goes to Dr. Clemens of the state council.

* * *

Progressive Rural Religious Work

Great progress is just ahead in the field of rural church work. Rev. Mark Rich, who is writing his Ph.D. thesis at Cornell University, has been engaged as the director of the rural institute for religious work, connected with Cornell University, on a full-time basis. This institute now becomes the department of rural work for the State Council of Churches and Christian Education. Mr. Rich has long been identified with rural larger parish work at Groton, N. Y., near Ithaca, the seat of Cornell University. Rev. Fred Dean of Greece Baptist Church, near Rochester, is chairman of the institute.

* * *

Preaching Mission Planned

The National Preaching Mission of the Federal Council of Churches began its great itinerary in Albany last September. Little follow-up was attempted last fall, but the Albany Ministers' Association is now planning a preaching mission of its own for next November. Baptist preachers in Albany conducted a round-robin preaching mission in the seven churches of Albany and Rensselaer Jan. 3-10. Dr. Jesse Bader of the Federal Council has promised that he will help conduct an interdenominational preaching mission for the northern part of the state next autumn.

* * *

And So Forth

For two years now New York state has held regional church conventions under the state council. The third year is planned as follows: Binghampton Sept. 27, Batavia Sept. 28, Utica Sept. 29, Potsdam Sept. 29 and Poughkeepsie Oct. 1. "United Churches" is to be the general theme.

A ministers' Credit Union may be formed in the state this spring. The matter was broached at a general church conference in Albany last November. Since then, considerable interest in the project has developed. The state conference of the Universalist Church, planning to form such a union of their own, now want to merge their efforts with the other Protestant ministers. A committee is to report on the matter at the next meeting of the state council executive committee March 1.

On Feb. 23 a fire completely destroyed the fine edifice of the Madison Avenue Reformed Church of this city. The minister, Rev. Henry Vruwink, has not announced any plans for the future as yet, although moving to another site, merger with other churches and rebuilding on the present site are all being considered. The congregation is meeting partly in the Hebrew Temple Beth Emeth and partly in the Emmanuel Baptist Church.

GEORGE L. CUTTON.

Account of Delta Cooperative Farm's First Year

A pamphlet, "A Door of Opportunity," has been recently published by Sherwood Eddy based upon the achievements of the Delta Cooperative Farm during the first year of its history. "Ten months ago," says Mr. Eddy, "we began operations on a 2,138 acre farm, valued at $17,500, and with a debt of $17,000. On Jan. 1 of this year we owned a $30,000 farm free from debt. In spite of one of the worst droughts in twenty years, the income of the thirty families on the cooperative farm was twice what it ever had been before."

Federation Faces Promising Year

Under New Leadership Interdenominational Organization Makes Large Plans—Young People Active

(Correspondence from Pittsburgh)

PITTSBURGH, Feb. 26.—During the six years of the depression our federated church movement here has been rather quiescent, but with the election of Dr. Norman C. Milliron to the presidency last week, the organization promises to take on a new lease of life. Dr. Milliron has been for sixteen years the pastor of the Zion Evangelical Church, where he has done a quiet, consistent and highly constructive piece of work. Dr. J. Sala Leland was made vice president and Dr. E. Roy Corman, secretary. The first large enterprise which is being planned is the creation of a "forward movement commission" under the leadership of Dr. J. Alvin Orr. The function of this commission is to secure the enlistment of those denominations which dropped out during the depression and to secure a contribution of one penny per member from every church which may be induced to affiliate with the council. There are five other active commissions which handle evangelism, social service, comity, religious education and international affairs. In addition, there is a department of women's work excellently led by Mrs. Harry G. Samson.

* * *

Religious Activities of Young People

A religious leader from Cleveland writes that church work there has, in his estimation, become exceedingly difficult because of the lack of interest on the part of youth. Our city can claim no exemption from this problem; still there are some encouraging signs. For instance, the 45 Epworth Leagues from as many Methodist churches of this district are holding in the week of March 1 a "Winter Institute" in Emory Methodist Episcopal Church, North Highland Avenue. The pastor, Dr. Warren W. Wiant, will be dean of the faculty. Six courses will be offered each evening, and at the conclusion of the class periods there will be a general assembly of an inspirational nature. Following this a second class period will be held. The teachers will be: Dr. Alexander H. Kemp, a physician who has served as medical missionary in Africa; Dr. Jesse L. Murrell, secretary of the department of Epworth Leagues and young people's work of the Methodist Board of Education in Chicago; William F. Zugel, minister of music at Emory; Miss Mary E. Latherow of the Blairsville district Epworth League; Dr. Frank Mark Depp, pastor of Christ Methodist Episcopal Church, Pittsburgh; Rev. G. A. Fallon, minister of the Natrona Heights Methodist Church; Dr. Arthur Beckett of West Virginia Wesleyan University; Attorney Frank Murdoch; Dr. Arthur J. Jackson of the Millvale Methodist Church and for-

mer professor of Bible at the American University in Washington, D. C.; Mrs. Hazel Penny of the Pittsburgh district Epworth League; Dr. C. C. Fisher of the Dormont Methodist Church.

Also it has become a custom of five years' standing for the young people of Allegheny county to hold a sunrise Easter service at 7:00 A.M. Easter morning on Flagstaff Hill in Schenley Park. Last year the Knights Templar, in full uniform, appeared at the service and lent color and dignity to the occasion. They will cooperate this year also. The radio will broadcast the service.

* * *

Brotherhood Day Observed

Under the enthusiastic leadership of Dr. Edward Bleakney of the Mt. Lebanon Baptist Church, assisted by an able committee of Protestants, Catholics and Jews, Brotherhood day was observed by a luncheon held at the Fort Pitt Hotel, which brought out a good, representative attendance. The speakers were Dr. Everett R. Clinchy, director of the National Conference of Jews and Christians; Rev. Donald Nealis, director of retreats, St. Paul's Retreat House, Pittsburgh, and Rabbi Herman Hailperin, of the Tree of Life Congregation, Pittsburgh. A continuation committee has been formed with the object of arranging a series of Round Table Conferences in our city during the coming months.

* * *

Western Seminary Adds Winter Conference for Ministers

Of great importance is the conference now being held at the Western Theological Seminary (Presbyterian) Feb. 23-26. Ministers come in in large numbers from small towns and rural churches. Too much praise cannot be given to the seminary for affording this inspirational and educational stimulus. This year five courses are being offered as follows: "Missions," taught by Dr. Hendrik Kraemer, authority on the Dutch East Indies; "Studies in the Passion of Christ," given by Dr. John Dow, professor of New Testament, Emmanuel College, Toronto; "The Larger Parish," given by Dr. William E. Brooks, pastor of the First Presbyterian Church, Morgantown, W. Va.; "God and Divine Society," taught by Dr. William F. Orr, instructor in systematic theology at the seminary, and "Sidelights from Ras Shamrah," taught by Dr. D. C. Culley, professor of Hebrew and Old Testament literature.

* * *

And So Forth

The 100th anniversary of the birth of Dwight L. Moody was celebrated in Pittsburgh Feb. 7-10. While there were a number of meetings here and there and in various suburbs, the main celebration occurred at the First Presbyterian Church, Dr. Clarence Edward Macartney, pastor, where Bishop Taylor Smith of London, chaplain-in-chief of the British forces during the war, Jock Troup of Scotland, Dr. William Evans, Dr. D. G. Barnhouse, Dr. W. H. Houghton and others spoke.

Dr. Hobart D. McKeehan, minister of the Abbey Church, Huntingdon, Pa., brought to his church Dr. E. G. Homrighausen of Indianapolis to lecture for a week under the auspices of his Men's League. During the week of January 17, the visitor also spoke before the theological students at Lancaster Seminary.

JOHN RAY EWERS.

Race Relations in Texas Improve

Passing of Depression Ends Some Forms Of Discrimination—Many Tributes to Bishop Mouzon

(Correspondence from the Southwest)

WACO, TEX., Feb. 27.—Recent interracial meetings in Texas centers, addressed by Negro educators as well as whites, have served to emphasize the fact of better race relations in the Southwest. Depression conditions had led to a revival of racial discriminations, such as the ousting of Negroes from industrial jobs and share-crop tenure. The attitude of the Negroes has been one of patient perseverence in educational, health and other improvements. Literacy among them is steadily mounting. Not a lynching occurred in Texas last year. Representative Hatton W. Sumners of Dallas district in Congress opposed the anti-lynching bill, alleging that it goes to unjust, even absurd lengths, and further that there is no reason why this particular crime should be put under federal jurisdiction unless others are transferred from the state. There are many influential whites, however, who are working for the passage of the bill. Meanwhile, there are signs of growing concern over the shamefully small allotments for Negro education, the neglect of proper housing and the laxity in punishment of crimes of Negroes against Negroes. One reason the Texas legislature failed to favor the federal child labor amendment might have been its application to Negro children.

* * *

Baptist Church Holds Anniversary

Gaston Avenue Baptist Church, Dallas, celebrated its golden anniversary this week with sermons by former pastors, including Austin Crouch, executive secretary of Southern Baptists, Nashville, Tenn.; J. M. P. Morrow, Jacksonville, Texas; Harold Major, pastor First Church, Boston, Mass.; and Henry Alford Porter, pastor First Church, Charlottesville, Va. W. Marshall Craig, coming from First Church, Petersburg, Va., has been pastor since 1926. The church is the third largest of some 3,000 Baptist churches in the state, and one of the most efficient.

* * *

Recent Pastoral Changes

Among pastoral relations it may be noted that L. D. Davis goes from Highland Presbyterian Church, Dallas, to Sulphur Springs, succeeding Percy Owens, who takes First Church, Brownwood. Layton Maddox, who died in El Paso recently, had been pastor of the Highland Baptist Church there, and earlier of churches in Waco and Belton. John A. Huff has resigned First Baptist Church, New Orleans, to accept First Church, Chattanooga. Texas Christian pastors, convening last week at Ft. Worth, heard William Adams Brown of New York and others of their own number. A committee reporting to the pastors fixed the next state convention of Disciples for Midland, May 3, with Tom Clark, pastor Central Church, Waco, to preach

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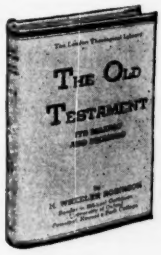

THE OLD TESTAMENT: Its Making and Meaning
By H. Wheeler Robinson

Volume one of the London Theological Library. Dr. H. Wheeler Robinson, for more than twenty years famous as an Old Testament scholar, is Reader in Biblical Criticism at the University of Oxford. Out of his painstaking study and research, and with the latest information ever at his fingertips, he writes as only a scholar, who is also and able expositor, can write. An American Old Testament scholar comments, "I have not read in years a more satisfactory book in the area in which it deals." **$2.00**

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What can prayer do? What is true intercession? How use the will in effective praying? How use the imagination in creative prayer? In what way is prayer identical with the genius-process every person may fruitfully practice? How perform the creative act of prayer? To these questions, and to finding the answers, the author of this book devotes himself. **$1.25**

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One of the world's best known women in sociological and religious work presents a volume of graphic pictures which lead to the inevitable realization of war's utter futility and its needless horrors. *Kill or Cure?* will stimulate new thought and sound reasoning in the growing world-wide movement for international peace. Christians of every nation will hail it as a rallying point for their beliefs. **$1.00**

At All Good Bookstores
Cokesbury Press, Nashville

the sermon. Roland Leath, educational director of Travis Avenue Baptist Church, Ft. Worth, who disappeared mysteriously in January and for whom the church prayed daily for weeks, has been found in Oklahoma City, suffering from a wound which induced amnesia, from which he has not yet fully recovered. It is believed that Mr. Leath was slugged by bandits and left for dead.

* * *

Many Tributes for Bishop Mouzon

The funeral of Bishop E. D. Mouzon in Dallas, on Feb. 13, as conducted by six bishops of the church was not only impressive in itself, but called forth a vast volume of tributes from Texans, among whom Bishop Mouzon began and conducted most of his ministerial labors. Bishop John M. Moore, Dallas, secretary of the college of bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, has announced that Bishop U. B. W. Darlington will have the West Virginia Conference, Bishop W. N. Ainsworth the Baltimore Conference, and Bishop Paul B. Kern the Virginia Conference, all conferences left vacant by Bishop Mouzon's death.

* * *

Religion Emphasized In Universities

The approach of Easter brings more than ordinary activity in the churches. Religious emphasis week is also being observed in at least three universities: at Southern Methodist University, with Edmond Heihason, University Methodist Church, Austin, as preacher; at Baylor University and First Church, Waco, with Douglas Hudgins, Broadway Baptist Church, Ft. Worth; and at the Texas College for Women, Denton, with Everett Jones, St. Paul's Episcopal Church. During the Lenten season many non-Catholic churches will conduct evangelistic campaigns.

JOSEPH MARTIN DAWSON.

Schmeling Prefers The South

Attention has been called to the fact that of the 22 cities where Max Schmeling is to appear in an exhibition tour of the United States 16 are in the South. His managers apparently assume that the German will be popular there because of his recent defeat of the Negro, Joe Louis.

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Churchmen Make Report on Spain

Committee Denies Anti-God Campaign, but Finds Anti-Clericalism—Sure to Vote Arms Loan

(Correspondence from England)

LONDON, Feb. 26.—The churchmen of various communities who were sent to see for themselves what things are like in Spain, have returned and tomorrow they will publish their report. The deans of Rochester and Chichester and four others, Messrs. Usher, Henry Carter, P. Bartlett and H. Brinton, made up the commission. I understand that they have not discovered any organized anti-God campaign; but they have found a strong anti-clerical feeling, which was not limited to non-Catholic circles. They say that in Valencia and Madrid the small Protestant churches hold their services, but there are no religious services at all in Barcelona. Churches have without doubt been used in many cases as arsenals and places of military strategy. In Barcelona, for example, the insurgent troops retreated to the churches and used them. These witnesses bear evidence of the efficiency of the social services carried on by the government.

As far as these witnesses can see there is no hope for Spain except in some form of federalism, and no hope of that until the stream of volunteers from other countries ceases and Spain is left to work out its own system of government.

* * *

Modern Churchmen's Union Divides

It is now possible to see how the present division has come about in the Modern Churchmen's Union. The Dean of St. Paul's and some other members of the council resigned their offices, but not their membership in the union. They have been answered in a letter signed by Dr. Percy Gardner, Dr. Cyril Norwood and others.

The dean and those who are with him differ chiefly on these points: They do not want the union to be so contracted that it would be impossible for those whose outlook is not exclusively Protestant to be active members. They also desire that the union should be less academic in its theology and should take more interest in the morals, social, political and economic, with which the younger generation is concerned. The others courteously deny that the union is so constricted, but they affirm that in their judgment a living theology must be literal. They object to an intercommunion based upon a doctrinal agreement which does not exist. They say that so far from being indifferent to the discussion of social and political subjects, they have made arrangements for papers on them at the next annual conference.

It is however easy to detect the dividing line among the members of this society.

* * *

Death of Canon Stacy Waddy

The death of Canon Stacy Waddy brings a heavy loss to the S. P. G., of which he was secretary. He will be greatly missed in the councils of the British Conference of Missionary Societies, to which he gave loy-

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al and valuable service. In many ways he was the kind of man our people delighted to honor. He came to Oxford from Australia and was at once a good scholar and a first-class cricketer, playing for the Oxford eleven. Afterwards he saw service in the church both in Australia and in Palestine before he was called to the important office of secretary to the S. P. G. in succession to Bishop Montgomery. His tall athletic figure was familiar to all who had any part in missionary service. It looked as if he had many years more to give; but he was attacked by fever on his way home from Australia and he died last week in a London hospital. But even a brief notice of him would be unfinished if it were not added that he used his knowledge of the East in his admirable book on the Psalms, and he provided much material for scholars to weigh in his attempts to interpret the book of Revelation in the light of the ancient worship of the church. Those who could not accept all his reconstructions would be the first to own their debt to him.

* * *

Britain Will Vote Loan for Army

The fall of Malaga has certainly depressed the friends of the Spanish government. It is suspected that the clever strategy of the insurgents in their recent movements is due to advice from those who are not Spanish. Such of our press as favors the insurgents declare that this is a religious war on behalf of Christianity and racial purity! Many critics of the government attribute their slowness and caution to their sympathy for Franco. I believe that this is not the reason; it is much more likely that the government hesitate again to do as they did in the Abyssinian War—that is, to commit themselves to an action for which they are not prepared. Mr. Chamberlain will get his authority to borrow 1500 millions to be spent within the next five years and there is no doubt that this nation will be fully equipped in sea and air when the present plans are carried out. But I believe there is a growing conviction that Britain must not again attempt to raise land forces on the scale demanded in 1914-1918. It will keep to the sea and the air. Any opposition to the new loan will be weak and must fail. The stricter financial authorities are pacified by the knowledge that the loan does not confer on the government any power to make armament plans without parliamentary consent.

EDWARD SHILLITO.

Dr. Douglas C. Macintosh Honored by Students

Prominent theology professors and clergymen, many of them his former students, gathered at Yale University recently to honor Dr. Douglas C. Macintosh, professor of theology and philosophy of religion in the Yale divinity school, on the occasion of his 60th birthday. A volume of essays, written in his honor by his former students and just published, was presented to Dr. Macintosh. The presentation was made by Prof. Julius S. Bixler of Harvard University. In addition to the special volume of essays, the celebration took the form of a dinner held in the president's room, Memorial Hall. Dean Luther A. Weigle of the Yale divinity school presided. Dr. Macintosh has recently led the protest within the Yale divinity faculty against the dismissal of Prof. Jerome Davis.

Non-Foreign War Crusade Planned

Admiral Byrd To Be Chairman of Final Phase of Emergency Peace Campaign —Urge Religious Cooperation

(Correspondence from Philadelphia)

PHILADELPHIA, Feb. 26.—Under the honorary chairmanship of Admiral Richard E. Byrd, the Emergency Peace Campaign will launch a "No-Foreign-War Crusade" in an April-May s ries of meetings and rallies, beginning on April 6, the 20th anniversary of America's entry into the World War. Byrd's leadership is a result of a promise during his solitary vigil in the shadow of the South Pole, when, feeling death from poisonous fume gas very near, he wrote in his diary: "The distance and detachment of this place seem to soften some human follies. Others take on added significance. From here the great folly of all follies is the amazing attitude of civilized nations toward each other. It seems a great madness. If this attitude is not changed, I don't see how our civilization, as we know it, will survive." Later he added: "If I survive this ordeal, I shall devote what is left of my life largely to trying to help further the friendship of my country with other nations of the world."

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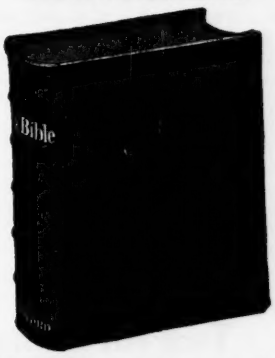

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How Religious Book Club Selections Are Made

THE nation's publishing houses, both denominational and general, cooperate with the RELIGIOUS BOOK CLUB by furnishing advance proofs of books to the Editorial Committee—Cavert, Fosdick, Rufus Jones, McConnell and Robbins. After reading them, the Committee selects by majority vote the volume which is to be designated the primary choice for the month. Other books favorably regarded by the Committee are placed on the list of supplementary recommendations.

The term "religious book," as applied by the Editorial Committee, is used in no narrow sense. Not only books dealing directly with problems of personal faith and conduct and the life and work of the Church but also history, philosophy, fiction, and discussions of educational, social, international, and interracial problems—whenever these contain sufficient contribution of religious merit—are included in the range from which selections are made.

As soon as the book of the month has been selected, a full review of the volume, together with descriptive summaries of supplementary books, is published in the RELIGIOUS BOOK CLUB BULLETIN.

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will be launched here in Convention Hall to make articulate and effective America's determination to keep out of European and Asiatic conflicts. An attempt will be made to change the basic policy of our military and naval forces to a policy of defense only, rather than the historic one of preparation to fight anybody, anywhere on the globe, for the protection of American property. Stress will also be laid upon the extension of reciprocal trade agreements to ease international economic tensions and upon cooperation with international agencies for justice.

* * *

Kirby Page Summons Religious Americans to Cooperate

"Modern war threatens all the high values which church and synagogue seek to conserve," Kirby Page, speaking at the Friends' meeting house, 15th and Race streets, told the 500 delegates from practically all the religious groups, unions, women's clubs, business men's organizations, youth leagues and civic organizations in Philadelphia and the suburbs. "The seriousness of the war threat," he insisted, "can be reduced only by unity of action by all citizens opposed to American participation in a European or Asiatic war, even though they differ in judgment as to what they would do if the United States were actually invaded. The religious people of America are called upon for maximum cooperation with the No-Foreign-War Crusade."

With its national and regional headquarters at 1201 Chestnut street, Philadelphia, the E. P. C. has set up other regional offices in Atlanta, Boston, Chicago, Columbus, Dallas, Hartford, Houston, Kansas City, Los Angeles, Madison, Minneapolis, Nashville, New York, Pittsburg, Portland, Ore., and St. Louis. John F. Kavanaugh and Calvin C. Cope are co-directors for the Philadelphia area. A Philadelphia executive committee of 23 leading citizens has been formed, with Dr. E. A. Schaal as executive secretary.

* * *

Temple Conference Hears About Modern Africa

A large attendance, despite the heavy snowstorm, and a stimulating program on "The World Impact of Christianity" marked the fourth annual memorial conference for ministers at the Temple University School of Theology, in celebration of its founding by the late Russell H. Conwell. Dean G. Floyd Zimmerman presided. Discussing "African Transformation," Dr. Emory Ross declared that "never before in the history of the world has so vast a population in so primitive a culture felt the weight of civilization in so short a time, going in a single generation from the pre-wheel stage of 50 or 60 years ago to the motor-car stage, from the primitive ax as their only boyhood tool to modern machinery, from the dugout canoe to the steamboat and aeroplane. Seeking a way, a guide, a life, 150 million there are on the trial."

* * *

Dr. Leslie B. Moss Discusses China

Speaking on "China's Contribution to the New World," Dr. Leslie B. Moss indicated the present critical situation for Chinese Christians, who, believing in the brotherliness of Christianity, live amid an atmosphere that justifies the use of force for national unity. Others on the program of the conference were Dr. Hendrik Kraemer, Dr. Samuel G. Inman, Dr. Robert E. Speer, President Charles E. Beury of Temple, George Lockett of the Temple alumni, and George H. Wailes, John D. Herr, Thomas S. Brock, Raymond W. Albright, Daniel A. Poling from the Temple faculty.

* * *

And So Forth

Dr. Vincent C. Franks, of St. Paul's Church, Norfolk, Va., will become rector of St. Stephen's Church, Philadelphia, where Dr. Carl E. Grammer had such an eminent ministry.

Dr. Paul de Schweinitz, of Bethlehem, Pa., has been elected a bishop of the northern province of the Moravian Church. A leader in foreign missions for many years, he has been treasurer of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel among the Heathen, which is the oldest foreign missionary board in North America, dating back to 1787.

The organization meeting of the Philadelphia chapter of the N.C.J.C. was held on March 8 at the Bellevue-Stratford. Dorothy Thompson (Mrs. Sinclair Lewis) spoke on "The Effect of Racial and Religious Prejudice on American Institutions." President W. W. Comfort of Haverford college presided. Richmond Pearson Miller has begun well as executive secretary.

The Moody centenary has been widely observed. Tonight the Delaware County Sunday School Association holds its commemoration service at the First Baptist Church, Media.

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Desert Wanderings

Yes, we have lost the way. No guiding star
Illumes the crooked path that lures afar—
But to what end? To some bleak wilderness
Or desert waste which savage beasts possess;
Some stony height, some grim, engulfing sea.
This path is ours to follow, wearily!
But is there no sure road that leads through day?
Is there for us no Guide who knows the way,
A Friend whom we can trust? Still must we grope—
How blindly!—through the waste, and without hope?
In ancient times there walked two lonely men—
Like unto us—Emmaus-ward; and then
Beside them, sudden, walked a Comrade strong.
Is there no guide for us? O Lord, how long?

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TVA Dams Show Their Importance

Tennessee Valley Saved from Destruction Visited Along Ohio and Cumberland Rivers

(Correspondence from the New South)

NASHVILLE, Feb. 20.—The TVA is serving as a yardstick in more ways than one. The Tennessee river is in the same rain area as are the Ohio, the Cumberland and others that inundated their valleys and wrought destruction. For 23 days during January the heavens opened and the floods came; the steep hillsides of the Tennessee's drainage area poured the waters down into its great winding river bed, but there was no destructive inundation. The floodgates of the great dams were closed and the flood tides of water held. Back of Norris dam they piled up on a shore line of 800 miles of reservoir and Chattanooga, hitherto so often the victim of sudden freshets, was spared. Nashville, on the smaller Cumberland, which winds around inside the Tennessee basin like a child in its lap, saw hundreds of its families driven from their homes. If the three dams now completed could so hold this flood and govern its waters there remains little doubt as to the issue for the future once the nine to be built are completed. The nation will have a perfect demonstration of how the engineering skill of men can control the outbreaks of nature.

* * *

Conservation Worth All It Costs

What is being done on the Tennessee can be done on the Ohio. Both are fed at their source in the steep hills of the Appalachian chain; both thread through steep banks with rich valleys narrowed by the hills; both hold the menace of nature's wild moods for the dwellers in their narrow valley basins; both can be controlled by dams impounding the floods at their head waters and between narrow barriers along their courses. It will cost hundreds of millions but the Ohio flood destroyed at least a half billion dollars' worth of property within a few days, to say nothing of the million and a half people driven from their homes like war refugees, the hundreds of dead and the impairment of homes and properties not counted in the losses. The half billion of estimated loss is probably not one-half the total loss to be reckoned in the end, including wages and the lost work of the millions affected by the flood, to say nothing of the suffering of several million human beings affected directly and indirectly. The current losses through floods, if saved, would yield a high rate of interest on the capital required to prevent them. The TVA is demonstrating the way.

* * *

TVA Teaching Proper Use of Soil

The flood waters were turgid with the soil of the lands over which the torrential rains swept their way into the river beds. It is estimated that not less than 127,000,000 acres of land suffered the loss of three hundred million tons of rich top soil. Field tests made during the flood showed that four times as much water ran off cornfields as off grasslands or woodlands. The TVA is demonstrating the ability of the soil erosion engineer to reduce the washing away of top soil to a minimum. It has planted millions of trees on the steeper hillsides, shown the farmer how grasses on the washable lands can yield returns now and save the complete loss of fertility in the end, demonstrated how furrows curving to the contour of the sloping lands will hold the water in the soil instead of washing the soil into the sea. It is thus through sound engineering writing a challenge to the government to become a social engineer. It will take a generation to retrieve the losses suffered through four generations of soil robbing exploitation, but once we make up our minds to apply the same engineering sense to the business of all the people that business applies all the time to its own business, it will seem to be only common sense.

* * *

Wages Go Up in TVA Ranks

The TVA is illustrating a model method in labor organization and employer-employee relationships. Labor is not only freely accorded the right to organize but the working relationships are posited on the assumption that it is organized. The employee or his union representative brings his grievance through established channels to the Authority and is guaranteed against discharge for any cause without a hearing, and even then the personnel department must consent to the discharge. In the choice of delegates or representatives workers are guaranteed freedom "from any and all restraint, interference or coercion on the part

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of the management." Recently wage increases averaging about 10 per cent were negotiated for about 8,000 employees. This applied mostly to skilled workers. Common labor has been getting around 45 cents per hour, which is high for the region.

* * *

Find Solution for Labor Problems

The first principle adopted by the Authority was that of cooperation between labor and management rather than the antagonism which so often exists. This implied, of course, that neither side would try to take advantage or coerce the other; so labor was expected to organize but not to demand the closed shop. Then there was the question of the craft union versus the industrial, or whole working force. This was worked out very carefully over a two-year period and all the crafts agreed to a cooperative formula that disposes of jurisdictional disputes between unions in the same manner as other controversies are settled. The result is cooperative effort in which wages are kept at the highest level, costs at the lowest and the waste that comes through antagonism is completely saved.

* * *

Power Fight Shunted from Court to Court

Another important matter that is being illustrated in the experience of the TVA bears upon the question of the federal courts. Almost every step in the development of this program has been held up if it crossed the vested interests of the power companies. A federal judge in Nashville tied up all extension of projects not already under construction. Then a liberal federal judge in Atlanta set this injunction aside so far as Georgia is concerned. The general counsel of the TVA charges that the power companies "shop around" to get the "right" judge when they want an injunction.

* * *

Power Companies Seek to Block Cooperatives

The Tennessee Public Utility Commission has decreed that power companies must obtain its consent in the future before they build any lines costing more than $5,000 or carrying 400 volts or more. This is to block their recently developed habit in TVA territory of stringing lines into and through rural districts where there is the best chance for sales, thus seeking to block rural cooperatives by claiming the prior possession of property rights and also making it almost impossible for the less prosperous rural communities to get light and power through the future organization of cooperatives. This is a counterstroke to the Gore injunction enjoining all new construction. Now, since the President has cancelled pooling conferences with the power companies as a result of that injunction, the Commonwealth and Southern, the company that "holds" most of the operating companies in the TVA area, refuses to renew any arrangements for the purchase of TVA power. As about one-half of all TVA sales were to the power companies, this action on top of the injunction sto ping development is a distinct loss. TVA revenue last year from sales of power amounted to $1,170,000, of which $612,000 was a margin over and above the cost of generation, leaving more than half a million to be applied to the construction of dams and trunk lines. The experience of TVA with the power companies will probably prove their own undoing.

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Churches Divide On Child Labor

Catholic Bishops Declare Unanimously Against Amendment—Fate Once More in Doubt

(Correspondence from New York)

NEW YORK, Mar. 1.—The Catholic bishops of this state have published the information that they are unanimously against the ratification of the child labor amendment. In a letter written to Bishop Gibbons of Albany, and carried on the front page of this morning's press, Cardinal Hayes assails the amendment as seriously endangering the "rights of parents." "Authority over the lives of the children rests in their parents," says the bishop, ". . . the surrender of these broad powers . . . to a remote agency in Washington would contravene the principles of our form of government." Mgr. Lavelle, who read the letter before 2,000 parishoners at St. Patrick's Cathedral, said that it expressed the unanimous opinion of the bishops of New York.

Bishop Hayes' letter represents simply another major onslaught on the part of the Catholic hierarchy against the amendment. Less than two weeks ago Bishop Gibbons led an organized protest before the assembly at Albany. It would not be true, of course, to say that the expressed stand taken by the bishops represents the unanimous opinion of the Catholic laity. Exceptions have been pointed out in my previous correspondence. But there is not the slightest doubt that the full force of the hierarchy against the amendment is as powerful as it is unexpected. The senate has already voted its approval. The assembly, largely under the influence of Tammany, showed signs of yielding until the Catholic position made itself felt. Official Protestantism has, with minor exceptions, taken its stand on the other side, with the Federation of Churches leading the fight. The Congregational Council for Social Action has issued a lengthy statement claiming that the "main argument against ratification . . . is kept in the background," and that "certain interests would suffer economic loss from the abolition of child exploitation." But neither the federation nor the Council for Social Action nor any other pro-amendment voice has been able to "crash" the front page along with the Gibbons protest or the Hayes letter. The outlook for ratification, brightened by the senate vote, has been once again eclipsed behind the opposition of the Catholic Church.

* * *

Liberal Leaders Condemn Gag on Ministers

Two weeks ago we reported a protest on the part of the Liberal Ministers' club against the methods employed by the Church of the Redeemer, Newark, in ousting its minister, the Rev. L. Hamilton Garner. This week another protest has been directed against the Newark church. It is signed by Dean Atwood of the Canton Theological Seminary; Dean Skinner of the Crane Theological Seminary; Rev. James Fairley of the Community Church, White Plains, N. Y.; Dr. Guy E. Shipler,

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editor of the *Churchman;* Rabbi Sidney Goldstein of the Free Synagogue, New York; Dr. John Nevin Sayre of the Fellowship of Reconciliation; Dr. Harry Emerson Fosdick; Prof. Reinhold Niebuhr and others. The statement urges "men and women of good will everywhere to oppose any action which will stifle the free exercise of conscience on the part of religious leadership."

* * *

Denies Wholesale Slaughter Of Catholic Priests

Emphatically denying that the Spanish loyalists were executing "large numbers" of Catholic priests, Dr. Juan Ortz Gonzalez, noted Spanish churchman, who has just arrived for a lecture tour, pointed out that at the start of the revolution there were, by accurate estimates, 35,000 priests in Spain. "If it is true," said he, "as the statement of the Vatican claims, that 40 per cent of Spanish churchmen have been killed, several thousands must have been killed by the rebels themselves, for they were in rebel territory." Dr. Gonzalez, a graduate of Union Theological Seminary, New York, said he was living in Malaga when the revolution started. In answer to the Vatican charge that 90 per cent of the priests there were executed by the loyalists he said that the number could not possibly have exceeded two per cent. He claimed also that whereas a number of priests have fled from Madrid, many others remained. Some of those "have been unceasing in their work of mercy and are encouraged rather than molested."

* * *

Volunteer Service Bureau Opens

A city-wide expansion of the lay ministry, as it has been carried forward by individual churches, has now been adopted as a regular part of the work of the New York federation. This new bureau, at present under the direction of Miss Elizabeth Meeker, had its beginnings in an experiment that was conducted last summer. At the instigation of a group of women, representative of various churches, an experienced social worker was engaged to make a survey of human need within the city in order to discover the extent of opportunity for volunteer workers. "Vast fields of service to body, mind and spirit" justified, it was felt, "the organization of a permanent volunteer service bureau," and the present beginning of just such a service is the result. At this writing 30 volunteers have applied for assignments, and the list promises to grow rapidly. They will be asked to cooperate with the various social agencies as well as with the pastoral programs of their respective churches. Practically every minister has indicated his interest in the project.

EDWIN T. BUEHRER.

Dr. Frederick Eiselen Assumes New Duties

Dr. Frederick Carl Eiselen, executive secretary of the Board of Education of the Methodist Episcopal Church, has assumed his duties as president of the Council of Church Boards of Education. The council is a clearing-house for the work of the boards of education in 23 of the leading Protestant denominations. Dr. Gould Wickey is executive secretary. The council maintains its headquarters in Washington, D. C.

Preach Radical Social Gospel

Fellowship for Christian Social Order Attracts Wide Attention—Defense Program Opposed

(Correspondence from Saskatchewan)

SASKATOON, Feb. 19.—Saskatchewan is having its first visit from Rev. J. King Gordon in his capacity as national secretary of the Fellowship for a Christian Social Order. In three cities—Saskatoon, Moose Jaw and Regina—he is preaching on Sundays and lecturing on weekdays on the principles for which the F.C.S.O. stands.

Three addresses in particular are drawing the attention of the public, "The Social Message of Christianity," "Christianity and the Crisis of Democracy" and "Christianity and the International Crisis." In these Professor Gordon makes clear the immediacy of the social and political problems which face Canadians and link them directly with Christian thought and action. The publication of the fellowship's first book, *Towards the Christian Revolution,* coincides with the Saskatchewan visit of the secretary, and this is emphasizing the significance of advanced social thought within the church.

When Professor Gordon was released from the chair of Christian ethics in the United Theological College, Montreal, many thought it would hinder the propagation of his gospel. Now we discover that, even as the Jerusalem persecutions scattered the Christians and broadcast their message, so is it here. Instead of a handful of theologues in a classroom, Mr. Gordon has a public numbering thousands as widespread as Canada itself.

* * *

Roman Church on Social Question

The Roman church also has been giving Saskatchewan instruction on society's ills. Prof. W. B. Markle, of St. Thomas More College, University of Saskatchewan, is broadcasting on Sunday afternoons a series of 20 lectures called "Broadcasts on the Social Question."

In these Father Markle has set forth his church's views on the right to private property, which he says "flows from the natural law"; on the Christian family; on threats to existing institutions, including the threat of communism; and on other issues.

The public has not accepted all this teaching without protest. Questions have been asked through the press about the Roman church's relation to fascist doctrine and practice in these same social institutions. Dr. Markle's interpretation of communism and socialism has been challenged as inaccurate. As far as your correspondent knows, the only replies to these criticisms have come from private citizens who content themselves very largely with calling the critics "red" or "atheist."

* * *

Ministers Assist in Penal Investigation

The province expects the royal commission investigating the penitentiaries to hold sittings here in March. The interest felt

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in the problem of the criminal shows in the large number of briefs being presented to the commission. In Saskatchewan these will come from social service agencies such as family welfare bureaus, from socio-economic organizations like the provincial section of the United Farmers of Canada, as well as from others.

One of the significant aspects of the briefs apart from their content is the part religious leaders have played in their preparation. The president of the Saskatchewan Social Service Council is a prominent Anglican clergyman, while the convener of the council's section on criminology is a minister of the United Church. The United Farmers executive is supporting recommendations prepared with the advice of this minister. It seems to indicate the arrival of a day when the clergy, by reason of intensive study of social issues, may speak with authority on matters not strictly religious and be accepted by the laity as competent to advise on sound action.

* * *

Government Defense Program Opposed

The voice of the people on government proposals to increase appropriations for armaments is being heard in protest in Saskatchewan. Largely signed petitions against the increase have been sent to Ottawa and members of Parliament have been advised by constituents of their opposition to the proposals.

One of the first protests was made in Saskatoon at a meeting organized by a peace action federation which includes members of all political parties and of many religious beliefs. The Legion Hall was packed by a representative audience. After addresses by Mr. Ian Wahn, Saskatchewan's Rhodes scholar-elect, and Mr. King Gordon on Canada's position with respect to war, three resolutions were moved from the floor. The vote was by ballot and in every instance was overwhelmingly in favor of the resolution.

The first opposed the increased appropriations for armament. The second called upon the government to "notify the imperial government at the forthcoming Imperial Conference that Canada reserves the right to preserve her neutrality in any war in which Great Britain may become involved." The third asked for nationalization of the munitions industry and the conscription of wealth in the event of war.

Peace sentiment is strong on the prairies and needs but to be directed and expressed to become an effective force in the national policy. There are indications this is being done.

* * *

"God Has Crossed Beaver River"

For over five years Saskatchewan has witnessed a shifting of population that has been of deep significance to the churches. Due to drought conditions in the south a steady northward trek of settlers has taken place. These farmers have taken up homesteads in the bush-lands of the north. More than 40,000 people have moved into this "Land of Beginning Again."

The trek has faced the churches with the problem of extension in a new frontier area at a time when funds for extension work are seriously curtailed. For a while it seemed as if they could not cope with it. "God hasn't crossed the Beaver River yet" became a current saying in the north. The United Church was the first one able to meet the challenge (a united church seems peculiarly fitted for the frontier) and one of her newly ordained missionaries changed the saying to "God has crossed the Beaver River."

Dr. J. L. Nicol, superintendent of missions for the United Church of Canada, and the Bishop of Saskatchewan for the Church of England, have worked well to establish the church in the new settlements. In spite of geographical and economic difficulties they are meeting with success. The church is definitely claiming Saskatchewan's newest frontier for God.

CLARENCE HALLIDAY.

North Dakota Ends Compulsory Military Training

Students at the North Dakota Agricultural College and the state university are no longer forced to take military training. A bill has been passed by the state legislature and signed by Governor William Langer which abolishes the compulsory feature of the drill.

The New Films

These summaries and evaluations are supplied by the National Film Estimate Service. Estimates are for three groups: A, intelligent adults; Y, youth (15-20 years); C, children (under 15 years).

As You Like It

(Bergner, Olivier, Quartermaine) (Fox) Notable British production, faithful to spirit of original, impressively set and acted. Intelligently abridged text beautifully spoken by fine English supporting cast. Only flaws, artificiality of forest scenes and Bergner's accent.

For A, Y: Excellent. For C: Good if it interests.

Final Chord

(Lil Dagover, Willy Birgel) (Ufa) Fine human drama with splendid renditions of classical music. Devoted mother, by remaining incognito, gives her boy rare opportunity for great musical career. Notably acted, with three outstanding roles. Fine German dialog and English titles.

For A, Y: Fine of kind. For C, Beyond them.

Head Over Heels in Love

(Jessie Mathews and English cast) (G-B) Well-intentioned romantic comedy which apes Hollywood and fails. Jessie's charm and her songs are its chief virtues. Direction feeble, comedy naive, acting amateurish, and dramatic interest wavers constantly. Good story spoiled.

For A: Poor. For Y: Harmless. For C: No interest.

Last of Mrs. Cheyney

(Crawford, Powell, Montgomery, Morgan) (MGM) Famous Lonsdale play of expert thievery in English high society elaborately screened with outstanding cast. Unfortunately, modernization of sets and costumes distort old play and little is left but smart dialog. Sophisticated.

For A: Disappointing. For Y: No. For C: No.

Maid of Salem

(Colbert, MacMurray) (Para) Outstanding historical film, first picturing vividly and authentically 17th century life in Salem. Then, sudden wave of mob hysteria over witchcraft, and film turns to eerie, stark melodrama of shuddering fear and gruesome gallows, with artificial romance added.

For A: Excellent. For Y: Very good. For C: Too strong.

Men Are Not Gods

(Miriam Hopkins and English cast) (UA) Heavy romantic triangle of secretary-heroine, Shakespearian actor and his wife. Some deft acting and strong character interest atone for plot shortcomings, improbable or archaic incidents, and a story that limps in spots.

For A: Fair. For Y: Better not. For C: No.

Mighty Treve

(Tuffy, Noah Beery, Jr.) (Univ) Sincerely done picture of strong human and sentimental appeal, with splendid western backgrounds and finest "dog star" to date. Two moments, when misunderstanding humans are about to shoot the adorable dog, may be too tense for sensitive children.

For A, Y: Fine of kind. For C: Mostly excellent.

When You're in Love

(Grace Moore, Cary Grant) (Columbia) Fairly pleasing musical romance. Plot transparent and hero's attitude not always credible, but whole light, amusing and pictorially effective. Grace sings no arias, but many charming songs in charming manner. One trashy song wholly unnecessary.

For A: Good of kind. For Y: Mostly good. For C: Doubtful interest.

Best Recent Films for Family:

The Stowaway	Sing Me a Love Song
One in a Million	Let's Make a Million
Man of Affairs	Great O'Malley

Best Films for Adults:

Camille	Stolen Holiday
Three Smart Girls	Green Light
Beloved Enemy	The Good Earth

BOOKS RECEIVED

The Greatest Thing in the World, by Henry Drummond. International Pocket Library, 25 cents.

Building a New World, by Roy L. Smith. First M. E. church, Los Angeles, 25 cents.

Psychology of Personality and Social Adjustment, A Handbook for Students, by Robert Leeper. Author, Cornell College, Mt. Vernon, Ia., 75 cents.

Psychology and Religious Origins, by T. Hywel Hughes. Scribners, $2.25.

The Christian Faith, by Alfred E. Garvie. Scribners, $2.25.

Social Insight in Case Situations, by Ada Eliot Sheffield. Appleton-Century, $2.25.

Writings on Political Philosophy, by Benedict de Spinoza. Edited by A. G. A. Balz. Appleton-Century, $1.25.

Poverty and Dependency, by John Lewis Gillin. Third edition. Appleton-Century, $4.00.

Imperial Hearst, A Social Biography, by Ferdinand Lundberg. Modern Library, 95 cents.

An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations, by Adam Smith. (Giant) Modern Library, $1.10.

The Antigua Stamp, by Robert Graves. Random House, $2.50.

The Life and Death of Robert Devereux Earl of Essex, by G. B. Harrison. Henry Holt, $3.00.

Making Marriage Christian, by Strother A. Campbell. Judson Press, $1.00.

From the Cross: The Seven Last Words, by Gaius Glenn Atkins. Harpers.

Mara, by Stoyan Christowe. Crowell, $2.00.

A History of the Press and Public Opinion in China, by Lin Yutang. University of Chicago Press, $2.00.

The Pastoral Epistles, by E. F. Scott. (Moffatt New Testament Commentary.) Harpers, $3.50.

The Christian Faith, edited by W. R. Matthews. Harpers, $3.00.

The Nature of Religious Experience, Essays in Honor of Douglas Clyde Macintosh. Harpers, $2.50.

FINAL ANNOUNCEMENT

The special fellowship plan to enlist new subscribers to The Christian Century has ended. The campaign subscription offer has been withdrawn.

As of March 1 the Actual Total Recorded was

9,612 New Subscribers!

While this total is a trifle short of the suggested goal of 10,000 New Subscribers, it represents a great cooperative achievement. The goal was the highest ever set for a limited subscription campaign by The Christian Century. Its full attainment could easily be achieved by holding open the campaign for a few more days. We prefer not to resort to any such expedient. That it was so nearly attained by the March 1 closing date is victory enough and cause for mutual congratulation and rejoicing.

To All Subscribers—Old and New

Hearty thanks for your subscriptions, for your good will and for your renewed display of the unique spirit that binds us together in The Christian Century family.

New Subscriptions will still be welcomed notwithstanding withdrawal of the special campaign rate. Annual Subscriptions are $4.00. There is also available an Acquaintance Subscription rate of only $1.00 for 17 weeks. Address subscriptions to 440 South Dearborn Street, Chicago, Illinois.

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